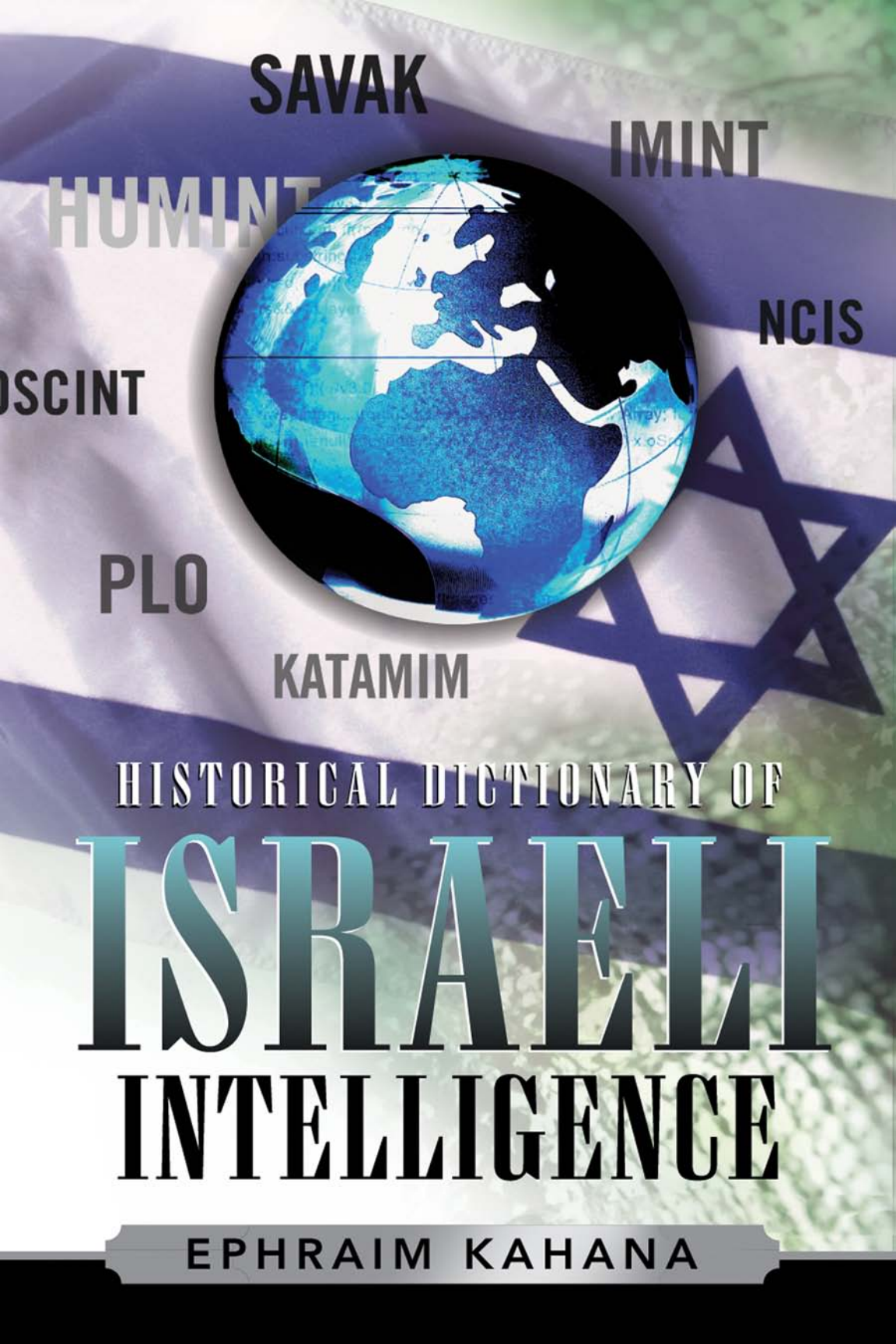


HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE

EPHRAIM KAHANA

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE SERIES
Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

1. *British Intelligence*, by Nigel West, 2005.
2. *United States Intelligence*, by Michael A. Turner, 2006.
3. *Israeli Intelligence*, by Ephraim Kahana, 2006.

Historical Dictionary of Israeli Intelligence

Ephraim Kahana

Historical Dictionaries of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, No. 3

The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Lanham, Maryland • Toronto • Oxford
2006

SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

Published in the United States of America
by Scarecrow Press, Inc.
A wholly owned subsidiary of
The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.scarecrowpress.com

PO Box 317
Oxford
OX2 9RU, UK

Copyright © 2006 by Ephraim Kahana

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Kahana, Ephraim.
Historical dictionary of Israeli intelligence / Ephraim Kahana.
p. cm. — (Historical dictionaries of intelligence and counterintelligence ; no. 3)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN-13: 978-0-8108-5581-6 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-8108-5581-X (hardcover : alk. paper)
1. Intelligence service—Israel—History—Dictionaries. 2. Military intelligence—Israel—History—Dictionaries. I. Title. II. Series.

UB251.I75K34 2006
327.125694003—dc22

2005032789

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.
Manufactured in the United States of America.

To Nili, Orit, Eran, Nir, Ori, Shir, and Zvi

Nili my wife
Orit my daughter
Eran my son in law
Nir my son
Ori my grandson
Shir my grandaughter
Zvi my brother

Contents

Editor's Foreword *Jon Woronoff* ix

Preface xi

Acknowledgments xiii

Acronyms and Abbreviations xv

Chronology xix

Introduction xxxix

THE DICTIONARY 1

Appendixes

A Directors of the Israeli Intelligence Organizations 333

B Israeli Intelligence Community Structure 335

C Directorate of Military Intelligence 337

D Israeli Security Agency (ISA) 339

E Mossad: Israel Secret Intelligence Service 341

Glossary 343

Bibliography 347

About the Author 369

Editor's Foreword

Israel's intelligence community is probably the most intriguing one around and also one of the hardest to get much information on. Starting almost from scratch at the time the State of Israel was created, it quickly grew, developed new branches, and launched numerous operations. For Israel, whose establishment is among the largest and most proficient in the world, this was hardly just a luxury. In the past, and even today, it was more a matter of life and death, initially not just the life or death of some of its citizens, but that of the very nation. Over the past half century or so, Israeli Intelligence has scored an amazing number of successes, including support in a series of wars, infiltration of enemy Arab states and even of secretive terrorist organizations, and the escape to Israel of whole communities of Jews. But it has also recorded some dismal failures, none of which it could afford. Consequently, like others, Israel has had to adapt to new times and occasionally reform its system.

Historical Dictionary of Israeli Intelligence is thus one of the most interesting volumes in this new series, dealing as it does with one of the most secretive intelligence organizations in the world. Yet, there is a wealth of details in the dictionary section, including entries on the various agencies, their top leadership and outstanding operatives, rare but very damaging cases of outside penetration of Israel, various aspects of tradecraft, and above all descriptions of major operations over the years, both the successes and the failures. They are imbedded in an introduction, which covers the whole field over the half century or so and looks into the future. The chronology helps follow this amazing trajectory. And the bibliography is a precious key to finding more information in written literature or on the Web.

This volume was written by Ephraim Kahana, who is an academic with a strong specialization in national security and intelligence studies, which he teaches at Western Galilee College, the University of Haifa,

and the Technion. Over the years, Dr. Kahana has published many papers and articles on related issues and also organized panels and conferences. This experience provided the basis for a reference work that will doubtlessly be welcomed by students and fans of intelligence and counterintelligence, not only for its contents but also for its organization and the accessible style. Indeed, the entries on certain operations and operatives read almost more like fiction than reality, although they are the stuff of what is broadly regarded as one of the top—if not *the* top—intelligence establishments.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Preface

The State of Israel was established only in 1948, but in its 57 years of existence its intelligence community has won the image of a "superman." Most espionage movies somehow contrive to mention the Israeli Mossad, which has probably become the most ubiquitous Hebrew word everywhere after *shalom*. Countless books have been written on the Israeli intelligence community, especially the Mossad.

Much of the literature about the Mossad may be considered pure fiction, but the fact is that many observers regard Israel's intelligence community as among the most professional and effective in the world and as a leading reason for Israel's success in its conflicts with the Arab states. Its missions encompass not only the main task of ascertaining the plans and strengths of the Arab military forces opposing Israel but also the work of combating Arab terrorism in Israel and abroad against Israeli and Jewish targets, collecting sensitive technical data, and conducting political liaison and propaganda operations.

The Israeli intelligence community is comprised of four separate components, each with distinct objectives. The *Mossad* is responsible for intelligence gathering and operations in foreign countries. The *Israeli Security Agency* controls internal security and, after 1967, intelligence within the occupied territories. *Military Intelligence* is responsible for collecting military, geographic, and economic intelligence, particularly in the Arab world and along Israel's borders. The *Center for Political Research* in the Foreign Ministry prepares analysis for government policy makers based on raw intelligence as well as on longer analytical papers.

The Mossad, and likewise elite units of the Israel Defense Forces, have achieved many notable successes. Most of them remain secret and unknown. The known ones are still impressive and are covered in the dictionary. They include the capture of the high-ranking Nazi Adolf

Eichmann, the theft of a Soviet MiG-21 fighter aircraft, the rescue of Israelis taken hostage by terrorists in far-off Uganda, and the conveyance to Israel, their homeland, of Jewish communities in oppressive countries such as Iraq, Iran, the Maghreb states, and Ethiopia. All these were accomplished despite the Mossad's tiny size in terms of manpower and budget compared with its counterparts in the West.

In February 1978, *Time* magazine ranked the intelligence establishments of 14 countries, mostly of Western countries and a few communist states, based on parameters such as integrity of personnel, ability to conduct operations, and skill in making the best of given resources. The Mossad was ranked among the four leading intelligence organizations in the world, together with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the Soviet KGB, and the British Secret Service.

This book aims to portray the entire Israeli intelligence community, its organizations and directors, its successes and its failures, for the first time in a dictionary style. The book may appear to lay undue stress on failures, but this is only because these have been uncovered and made known to the general public; only some of the successes are known, while many more remain secret.

Acknowledgments

Writing a dictionary like this cannot be done alone, and I wish to gratefully acknowledge the help of friends and colleagues who helped me in the completion of this task. First and foremost, I would like to thank Richard R. Valcourt, editor in chief of the *Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, for recommending to Jon Woronoff that I compile this dictionary.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Michael Andregg, who took time out of his busy schedule to read parts of the book and amazed me by responding immediately with valuable assistance each time I turned to him for advice.

The kind assistance of the library of the Western Galilee College, the staff of which assisted me in locating the proper references, made the task of writing this book much easier. A special thanks goes to Ms. Zahava Santo, the director of the library, and to Ms. Tamar Israeli, the library's information specialist, who helped with the technical side of preparing the bibliography. Many thanks also go to Dr. Haim Sperber, an academic consultant at the college, who reviewed parts of the proofs.

I wish also to thank Jon Wornoff for his useful corrections and suggestions throughout the course of my writing. Ms. Nicole McCullough and Ms. April Snyder of Scarecrow Press assisted with the editing and technical aspects of the book, and I am grateful for their careful attention to the many details. My student and research assistant, Ephraim Tkacz, also provided me with valuable help.

Last, but of course not least, I would like to thank my family, who had to live with the fact that so much of my time over the past year was devoted to bringing this work to completion.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AEC	Atomic Energy Commission (United States)
ALA	Arab Liberation Army
Aman	Agaf Modi'in/Directorate of Military Intelligence
ARCO	Atlantic Richfield Corporation
BESA	Begin-Sadat (Center for Strategic Studies)
Bilu	Bet Ya'akov L'chu V'Nelcha ("O House of Jacob come ye and let us go")
BND	Bundesnachrichtendienst/Federal Intelligence Service ([West] Germany)
BSO	Black September Organization
CGS	Chief of the General Staff
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (United States)
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
COMINT	Communications Intelligence
CPPR	Center for Political Planning and Research
CPR	Center for Political Research
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSS	Center for Special Studies
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence (United States)
DMI	Director of Military Intelligence
DSDE	Director of Security for the Defense Establishment
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation (United States)
FSU	Former Soviet Union
GSS	General Security Service
GUPS	General Union of Palestinian Students
Hatsav	Homer Tsevai Bariah/Unwittingly Exposed Military Matter
HRM	Hebrew Resistance Movement
HUMINT	Human Intelligence

IAF	Israel Air Force
IAI	Israel Aircraft Industries
ICT	International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
IMINT	Imagery Intelligence
IPS	Institute of Policy and Strategy
ISA	Israeli Security Agency
ISORAD	Isotopes and Radiation Enterprises
JCSS	Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies
Katamim	Ktsinim Le'Tafkidim Meyuhadim/Officers for Special Tasks
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti/Committee for State Security (USSR)
LAKAM	Lishka Le'Kishrei Mada/Bureau of Scientific Liaison
LAP	Literature and Publications
LHI	Lohamei Herut Israel/Fighters for the Freedom of Israel
Mahman	Mahleket Modi'in/Naval Intelligence Squadron
Maki	Miflaga Komonistit Israelit/Israeli Communist Party
Malmab	Memuneh Al Ha'Bitahon Be'Ma'arekhet Ha'Bitahon/Director of Security for the Defense Establishment (DSDE)
Mamad	Ha'Mahlka Le'Mehkar Medini/Center for Political Research (CPR)
Mapai	Mifleget Poali Eretz Israel/Israeli Workers Party
Mapam	Mifleget Poalim Meuhedet/United Workers Party
Matmad	Ha'Mahlaka Le'Mehkar Ve'Tikhnon Medini/Center for Political Planning and Research (CPPR)
MEMRI	Middle East Media Research Institute
MI	Military Intelligence
MI5	Secret Service (United Kingdom)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCIS	Naval Criminal Investigative Service
NILI	*Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* ("The Everlasting of Israel will not lie")
NSC	National Security Council
NUMEC	Nuclear Material and Equipment Corporation
OSINT	Open Source Intelligence

OSS	Office of Strategic Services (United States)
PA	Palestinian Authority
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PKK	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan/Kurdistan Workers Party
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
POW	Prisoner of War
SAM	Surface-to-Air Missile
SAVAK	Sazeman-i Ettelaat va Amniyat-i Keshvar/National Organization for Intelligence and Security (Iran)
SDECE	Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage/Foreign Information and Counter-espionage Service (France)
Shabak	Sheruth Bitahon Klali/General Security Service
Shai	Sheruth Yedioth/Information Service
Shin Bet	Sheruth Bitahon/Security Service
SIBAT	Siyua Bithoni/Security Support
SIGINT	Signals Intelligence
UN	United Nations
UNFP	Union Nationale de Forces Populaires/National Union of Popular Forces (Morocco)
USFP	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires/Socialist Union of Popular Forces (Morocco)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VARASH	Va'adat Rashei Ha'Sherutim/Committee of Directors of the Intelligence Services
YAMAM	Yehidat Mishtara Meyuhedet/Special Police Unit
Zidar	Zira Dromit/South Theater
Zika	Zirat Kol Ha'Olam/World Theater
Zimar	Zira Merkazit/Central Theater
Zit	Zira Technologit/Technological Theater
Zitar	Zirat Terror/Terror Theater
Zitsap	Zira Tsefonit/North Theater

Chronology

1915 **November:** *Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* (NILI), a clandestine pro-British spying organization, is founded in Ottoman Turkish-ruled Palestine by Aharon Aaronsohn, his brother Alexander Aaronsohn, his sister Sarah Aaronsohn, Avshalom Feinberg, and the Belkind brothers.

1917 **February:** The first contact is made between the *Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* (NILI) center at Atlit and British intelligence in Cairo. The connection is maintained by sea for several months and the British receive useful information from the group. **September:** The Turks catch a carrier pigeon sent from Atlit to Egypt, furnishing clear proof of espionage within the Jewish population. One of the group, Na'aman Belkind, is captured by the Turks. **1 October:** NILI is uncovered by the Turkish police; Turkish soldiers surround its members in Zikhron Ya'akov and arrest many people, including Sarah Aaronsohn. **5 October:** Sarah Aaronsohn attempts suicide after four days of torture: she shoots and mortally wounds herself, dying on 9 October.

1919 **May:** Aharon Aaronsohn is killed in an air accident; *Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* (NILI) finally breaks up.

1920 The Haganah underground militia is officially established.

1936 Ezra Danin, together with Ephraim Dekel and Emmanuel Wilensky, lays the foundations of the Arab Department in the Haganah.

1939 The Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth is created to organize illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine.

1940 **June:** Shaul Avigur, in a memorandum to the Haganah command, proposes establishing a joint countrywide information service. **September:** Avigur's proposal goes into effect, and the Information Service (Sheruth Yedioth, or Shai), the Haganah's intelligence arm, is officially established.

1941 The Palmah underground militia creates the Syrian Platoon, commanded by Yisrael Ben-Yehuda and Yehoshua (Josh) Palmon, who have made a major specialist contribution to Shai; members of the platoon speak Arabic and operate in Syria.

1942 Due to World War II, the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth activities are wholly suspended for the duration of the war.

1943 The Palmah sets up the Arab Platoon, a unit of combat and intelligence officers disguised as Arabs for covert missions. It is known by its codename Shahar.

1944 The Palmah sets up the German Platoon, consisting of German-speaking Palestinian Jews, commanded by Shimon Avidan. They are parachuted into Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe to encourage resistance and collect intelligence. The Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth activities are resumed when Palestinian Jews learn the full extent of the "Final Solution."

1945 Yolande Harmer is recruited in Egypt to the Political Department of the Jewish Agency during a visit to Egypt by the department's head, Moshe Sharett; posing as a journalist, she is considered one of the best spies in Egypt. **July:** Briha (Escape), an organization for the illegal immigration movement of Jews to Palestine from postwar Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe, begins activities.

1946 In Hadera, Palmah's Arab Platoon organizes courses on intelligence, as a result of cooperation between Zerubaval Vermal (Arbel), nicknamed Chifab, later a founder of combat intelligence in Israel Defense Forces (IDF), and Yehoshua Flomin. Participants are taught Arabic and hear lectures to gain an acquaintance with the Arabs.

1948 **14 May:** The State of Israel is declared. **15 May:** Israel becomes an independent state. **7 June:** Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, after consulting with Shai's acting director Reuven Shiloah, resolves to establish three intelligence organizations instead of Shai: Military Intelligence (MI), attached to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) General Staff; a domestic secret service, later known as the Israeli Security Agency (ISA); and a foreign intelligence service. The first two are initially subordinate to the IDF; the foreign intelligence service is intended to be subordinate to the minister of defense until the end of Israel's War of Independence. **29 June:** Meir Tobianski is executed by firing squad after

a field court-martial conducted by Shai members and presided over by Isser Be'eri. The charge is treason, based on circumstantial evidence. Tobianski is later cleared of espionage charges. **30 June:** Shai is formally dismantled. Heker 2, an ultrasecret unit, is set up in the Political Department of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Its missions are sabotage and propaganda behind enemy lines. Chaim Herzog is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI), holding this position until 1950. MI is assigned the responsibility for combat intelligence, operations security and counterespionage, listening, and censorship. **July:** The listening unit moves into the Tsahalon building in Jaffa. **22 July:** Changes are made in the structure of the operations section of the IDF and intelligence. Functions formerly belonging to Shai are to merge into the Military Intelligence Service, under the IDF Operations Branch. The new body is to encompass the combat intelligence, censorship, and operations sections and will be headed by Be'eri. The head of the combat intelligence section is to be Binyamin Gibli. **30 July:** MI is created under the IDF General Staff branch. Eventually this service is to become the Department of Intelligence. **1 August:** Under Order 48/25, the Intelligence Service comes into force. **20 August:** The first regulations of the Intelligence Service, drawn up by Herzog and Be'eri, are approved. **22 September:** Yigael Yadin, head of Operations Branch, publishes a document defining the division of authority between MI and the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry. **October:** The offices of the Shai, headed by Be'eri, are transferred to the Green House in Jaffa.

1949 **24 March:** The original order of Intelligence Service is canceled, replaced by a new order prepared by Herzog; the Department of Intelligence in the General Staff is divided into branches called Military Intelligence Service (IS) with a number appended. **April:** A supreme committee for intelligence work is formed and chaired by Shiloah; later it is titled the Committee of Directors of the Intelligence Services, known by the Hebrew acronym VARASH. On the establishment of this committee, the Magic Carpet operation for secret airlifting of Yemeni Jews to Israel begins; by its end in September 1950 it will have brought some 45,000 out of 46,000 Yemeni Jews to Israel. **2 May:** Ya'acov Buqa'i, disguised as an Arab en route to Syria on a spying mission, is caught by the Jordanian authorities. **July:** Shiloah proposes the creation of a central institution to enhance coordination and cooperation among

the intelligence services. **3 August:** Buqa'i is tried and hanged in Amman. **October:** Isser Be'eri is tried for his part in the execution of Meir Tobianski. The court decides to discharge Be'eri from the military service. **13 December:** Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion authorizes establishment of the "Institute [*mossad*] for Co-ordination" to oversee the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry and to coordinate internal security and military intelligence bodies. This is the birth date of the Mossad, then attached to the Foreign Ministry. Reuven Shiloah is appointed the Mossad's first director.

1950 The Ezra and Nehemia Operation is launched, whereby almost all Iraqi Jews are brought to Israel, first via Cyprus then directly; the operation continues until early 1952. **April:** Binyamin Gibli is made director of Military Intelligence (DMI) with promotion to colonel. He mainly develops apparatus for intelligence gathering. **July:** Yehoshafat Harkabi is appointed Gibli's deputy and boosts intelligence analysis.

1951 Ben-Gurion authorizes the final reorganization of the Mossad, making it an independent, centralized authority, capable of handling all overseas intelligence tasks. According to the proposal, which in the end does not materialize, the Mossad is supposed to be called the "Authority." It is meant to include representatives of the other two services, MI and the domestic security service. The Mossad then departs from the Foreign Ministry and reports directly to the prime minister, thus becoming part of the Prime Minister's Office. Major Max Binnet is assigned to an espionage mission in Egypt. **March:** Creation of Nativ, an intelligence organization responsible for Israel's connection with the Jews of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and for immigration to Israel from those countries. **1 April:** The so-called Spies' Revolt erupts, sparked by the transfer of intelligence functions from the Foreign Ministry to the Mossad; the revolt is led by Asher Ben-Natan. **May:** In Egypt, Major Avraham Dar recruits young Jews for an espionage network.

1952 Avraham (Avri) El-Ad is recruited by MI's Unit 131 to command the Jewish espionage network in Egypt; later he betrays its members. **20 September:** Shiloah resigns from the Mossad directorship, and Isser Harel, until then director of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA), is appointed to the post. Izi Doroth replaces Harel as the ISA director.

1953 Amos Manor is appointed Israeli Security Agency (ISA) director. **December:** Official title of Military Intelligence (MI) is changed from

the Department of Intelligence to Directorate of Intelligence in the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), raising its status in the IDF hierarchy.

1954 **2 July:** Members of a Jewish espionage network in Egypt begin the Susannah Operation by planting small firebombs in several mailboxes in Alexandria. A series of sabotage acts, directed primarily against Western embassies and other institutions, is planned, attempting to prevent the British evacuation from Egypt. **14 July:** In its second action, the network in Egypt firebombs the American libraries in Cairo and Alexandria. **23 July:** After the third action of the network in Egypt, its members are caught. **26 July:** First publication on the capture of the Susannah network in the Arabic press. Toward the end of the month, a furor erupts in Israel as to who gave the order to set up the network in Egypt in the so-called Affair, also known as Bad Business. **11 December:** The trial of the Jewish espionage network members begins in an Egyptian court.

1955 The Misgeret (Framework), a subunit of the Mossad, is established as a special force in North Africa to protect Jewish populations, mainly in Algeria but also in Tunisia. Harkabi, promoted to major general, becomes director of Military Intelligence (DMI); he serves in this position until 1959. **January:** The verdict on the Jewish espionage network is handed down by the Egyptian court. Penalties ranged from seven years imprisonment to execution. Dr. Moshe Marzouk and Shmuel Becor Azzar, members of the network, are sentenced to death and hanged. **27 September:** Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser announces a new arms deal between Egypt and Czechoslovakia. This deal and the concern it creates contribute to the formation of a research department in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), with two sections: technical and international.

1956 **February:** Israel succeeds in obtaining Nikita Khrushchev's speech denouncing the policies of his late predecessor, Josef Stalin. Khrushchev condemns Stalin's personality cult and apparent support for the concept of individuality. Israel delivers Khrushchev's speech to the United States, which is now able to reveal Stalin's true face. Israel's acquisition of the speech sends the Mossad's reputation soaring worldwide, especially in the United States. **11 July:** Colonel Mustafa Hafez, head of Egyptian intelligence in the Gaza Strip and in charge of activating killer and sabotage squads of *fedayeen* in the 1950s, is assassinated by Israeli

intelligence by means of an explosive envelope. The same day, the Egyptian military attaché in Amman, Jordan, Major Salah Mustafa, receives a similar explosive envelope. In the explosion, both his hands are blown off; he dies a week later. **September:** Following the ban imposed on emigration of Jews from North Africa to Israel, the Mossad forms another type of Misgeret in North Africa for smuggling Jews out of Morocco to Israel, sometimes with false papers and no travel documents and sometimes by bribing Moroccan officials for authentic passports. **29 October:** Outbreak of the Kadesh Operation, the Sinai Campaign between Egypt and Israel. Hostilities continue until 5 November. The war is conducted in political and military coordination with Britain and France, which name it the Musketeer Campaign. The Israel Defense Forces (IDF), commanded by Moshe Dayan, wins an impressive victory, capturing the Sinai Peninsula. Hostilities are preceded by a diversionary tactic whereby the IDF deploys as if to act against Jordan. The ruse succeeds, and the Egyptian army is taken wholly by surprise. Israeli intelligence evaluations of pacifying the frontier and easing the pressures along it are realized. **9 November:** The Tushia Operation, an operation to persuade Egyptian Jews to immigrate to Israel, begins when Avraham Dar and Aryeh (Lova) Eliav, disguised as French officers, manage to attach themselves to French forces after the 1956 Sinai Campaign and march with French and British troops into Port Said. Despite the sincere effort to initiate Jewish immigration to Israel, not many Egyptian Jews show interest.

1957 The Bureau of Scientific Liaison (LAKAM), initially called the Office of Special Assignments, is established. Its mission is to collect scientific and technical intelligence from open and covert sources. Its first director is Binyamin Blumberg.

1958 The Tevel wing is established in the Mossad, responsible for maintaining "shadow diplomatic relations" between the Mossad, rather than the Israeli Foreign Ministry, and countries with which Israel has diplomatic relations. Aharon Cohen, an Israeli citizen affiliated with leftist political party Mapam, is charged with maintaining contacts with a foreign agent. **July:** A revolution breaks out in Iraq, contrary to the evaluation of MI. Abd al-Karim Qassem takes power.

1959 **1 April:** A general mobilization exercise is launched, by means of unit codenames broadcast over Israel Radio, without advance notification

to the public. As a result, Yehoshafat Harkabi, director of Military Intelligence (DMI), and his head of Operations Branch, Major General Meir Zorea, are dismissed. Harkabi is replaced by Chaim Herzog for a second term as DMI.

1960 Seven-year-old Yossele Schumacher is kidnapped from Jerusalem by his ultraorthodox grandfather. Later the Mossad is tasked to trace him. **18 February:** Due to fears of an Israeli strike against Syria, and Egypt's wish to reinforce its posture as a strong state and to stress the vitality of Egyptian-Syrian unity, Egyptian forces secretly and under radio silence begin to cross the Suez Canal. **23 February:** Aerial reconnaissance photography discovers that the Egyptian fourth armored division has disappeared. Later the division is found widely deployed facing the Israeli frontier. **24 February:** A discussion chaired by the chief of the general staff is held, in which the director of Military Intelligence (DMI) reports on the above discoveries. Partial mobilization of the Israeli army takes place, under the name the Rotem Affair, but no confrontation occurs between Israel and Egypt. Following the intelligence failure in early detection of the entry of Egyptian forces into the Sinai Peninsula, the subject of early warning rises to the top of the list for notification of vital information. **April:** The first hint to the public of the Affair (Bad Business) is made by Uri Avneri in his weekly *Ha'Olam Ha'Zeh*, by the device of a fictional thriller tale for the Passover festival. Until then, details of the episode have been kept under full blackout. **May:** Eli Cohen is enlisted to the MI and trained as a spy. **11 May:** Adolf Eichmann is captured in Argentina in a stunning Mossad operation. **21 May:** Eichmann, dressed as an El Al crew member and drugged, is secretly placed aboard an El Al flight from Buenos Aires to Tel Aviv.

1961 Eli Cohen is sent to Argentina, where his persona as an Arab businessman, a Syrian émigré named Kamal Amin Ta'abat, is created. Cohen becomes friendly with the local Arab community. **7 February:** Professor Kurt Sitta, of the Technion in Haifa, is convicted of espionage for Czechoslovakia and imprisoned for five years.

1962 Cohen moves to Damascus and rents an apartment near the Syrian army general staff headquarters to monitor its activity more conveniently. He builds up his reputation as a generous businessman and a patriot; he becomes friendly with military personnel and members of the Syrian elite,

with whom he tours the length and breadth of Syria. By means of these contacts, Cohen collects much information, according to instructions from his handlers in Israeli intelligence, about the Syrian army and leadership. Once every six months, he travels abroad on business, principally to Europe, which allows him to meet his handlers and to visit his family in Bat Yam near Tel Aviv. Mordechai (Motke) Kedar is sentenced to prison for a murder he committed in Argentina, while building his cover story there for an espionage mission behind enemy lines. The director of the Mossad, Isser Harel, initiates the Damocles Operation, aimed at threatening German scientists in order to keep them from assisting in Egypt's surface-to-surface missile program. **1 January:** Major General Meir Amit is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI), replacing Major General Herzog. Herzog was responsible for introducing a scientific approach to intelligence research and for initiating Military Intelligence (MI) liaison with foreign intelligence communities. **February:** The Mossad launches Tiger Operation to find Yossele Schumacher. **31 March:** Yisrael Baer, a former IDF lieutenant colonel, is arrested on suspicion of treason and espionage for the Soviet Union. **31 May:** Eichmann is executed after being found guilty of crimes against humanity by an Israeli court. **July:** Egypt launches four surface-to-surface al-Zafar and al-Kahira missiles. Israel is caught by surprise, as the Israeli intelligence estimate was that Egypt possessed rockets of 35- to 70-mile (60–120 kilometer) range in the initial stages of development. MI publishes a comprehensive paper on the subject of the "Russian doctrine." **September:** Yossele Schumacher is found by the Mossad safe in Brooklyn, New York, and is returned to his parents in Israel.

1963 The Yadin-Sherf Commission is set up by Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion to probe the structure and functioning of the entire Israeli intelligence community in light of the Bad Business in Egypt and a clash regarding German scientists in Egypt. **22 March:** Efraim Samuel is caught by the Israeli Security Agency (ISA) spying for Romania. He is subsequently sentenced to six years in prison. **26 March:** Meir Amit assumes the position of director of the Mossad while still serving as director of Military Intelligence (DMI).

1964 Control of Eli Cohen's activity is transferred from Military Intelligence (MI) to the Mossad as part of the reorganization of the intelligence arms. The Yakhin Operation, a joint Mossad and Israeli Navy action to ferry Moroccan Jews to Israel illegally, begins. Major General Aharon Yariv is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI), serving in this

position until October 1972. **January:** Yosef Harmelin is appointed director of the ISA, which he will hold until 1975; he will subsequently be called back to take up this position again after the 1984 Bus 300 affair. **19 January:** Captain Abbas Hilmi, a pilot in the Egyptian air force dissatisfied with the Nasserist regime, defects to Israel flying a Soviet Yak trainer aircraft. Israel at the time is interested in obtaining the Soviet MiG fighter.

1965 **18 January:** The Syrians discover Cohen's true identity, and he is caught. His interrogators try to coerce him into maintaining contact with Israel; he uses this opportunity to inform Israel of his exposure by a special code. **18 May:** Cohen is hanged in Damascus after being sentenced to death for spying for Israel. **Fall:** Mossad director Amit and General Muhammad Oufkir, head of Moroccan domestic security, meet in France to reach an agreement whereby Mossad agents will set a trap for Mehdi Ben-Barka. Ben Barka, former tutor of King Hassan and ex-president of the Moroccan National Consultative Assembly, is now an opponent of the Moroccan government. For the sake of the Moroccan Jews, Israel agrees to find Ben-Barka and thus enable the Moroccan authorities to do with him as they wish. **29 October:** A Mossad agent persuades Ben-Barka to leave Geneva, supposedly for a meeting with a film producer in Paris. Three French security officers, cooperating with the Moroccans, arrest Ben-Barka. **30 October:** Ben-Barka is shot dead by Oufkir or one of his Moroccan agents.

1965 Wolfgang Lotz, an Israeli spy in Egypt, is arrested and imprisoned.

1966 **16 August:** Iraqi pilot Munir Redfa defects to Israel with his MiG-21, an act long planned by the Mossad. Not surprisingly, in the Six-Day War in June 1967 the Israeli air force demonstrates its superiority over the MiG-21 aircraft of the Arab air forces. **Fall:** In its publication *National Intelligence Estimate*, Military Intelligence (MI) maintains that Egypt has no intention of initiating any military move against Israel in 1967, after its war in Yemen.

1967 **7 April:** The Israel Air Force (IAF) sends planes to destroy Syrian guns on the Golan Heights; Syrian aircraft take off to defend them, and in the ensuing dogfight the IAF downs six Syrian planes with no Israeli losses. **13 May:** The Kremlin conveys spurious information on nonexistent Israel Defense Forces (IDF) troop movements and on American intentions to Anwar Sadat, Nasser's deputy, during a visit to Moscow. **14–15 May:** Lead units of two Egyptian divisions roll into the

Sinai Peninsula. Nasser places the Egyptian army on full alert. The Israeli intelligence community, having calculated that the Arab armies will not be ready for war until 1969 or 1970, is taken by surprise. **19 May:** Egypt deploys six army divisions to the Sinai. Mossad director Amit suggests that Israel publish aerial reconnaissance photographs of the massive Egyptian deployment; this tactic, according to Amit, would justify Israel's mobilization of its army reserves, begun in the early hours of 16 May. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol rejects the idea. **20 May:** Military Intelligence (MI) receives ominous information that Nasser has recalled three Egyptian brigades from Yemen. The same day, Egyptian forces enter Sharm al-Sheikh at the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula. **22–23 May:** At midnight Nasser announces the closure of the Strait of Tiran at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, thus sealing Israel's only shipping route through the Red Sea. Israel considers this move a casus belli; such a step has been Israel's red line since the Sinai Campaign of 1956, and since then Israel has declared several times that it will not tolerate any such blockade. **23 May:** The Israeli cabinet holds a briefing, with the participation of MI director Yariv, and concludes that with the closure of the Strait of Tiran it is now merely a question of time until a military response is made. **30 May:** In a genuinely surprising move, Jordan's King Hussein flies to Cairo. MI is fully aware of the deep ongoing animosity between Nasser and Hussein. During this visit, the two leaders conclude a mutual defense pact and announce that Jordan will form a joint military command with Egypt under an Egyptian general on the Jordanian front. **2 June:** The Israeli cabinet decides in principle to launch a preemptive war. The military recognizes the danger in delaying any longer: more Egyptian troops will arrive from Yemen, and the USSR will continue supplying weapons to Egypt. Moreover, it is understood that the United Nations and United States will do nothing to break Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. MI is aware of the inadequacy of Egyptian preparations and its army's weak morale. **4 June:** The Israeli cabinet resolves to start the war the following morning. **5 June:** The IAF strikes Arab military airfields and destroys 304 of the 419 Egyptian aircraft on the ground, 53 of 112 Syrian planes, and Jordan's entire 28-plane air force. **6 June:** A radiotelephone conversation between Nasser and King Hussein over the public telephone system is tapped by two veteran MI officers using vintage World War II equipment. By that time most of Nasser's air force has been

eliminated, but he does not share this information with Hussein. Still, it is clear from the conversation that Hussein knows that things are going badly. Nasser tries to convince the king that the air attack on 5 June was carried out jointly by the Israeli, U.S., and British air forces—which Nasser himself might indeed have believed. Israeli signals intelligence (SIGINT) monitors Nasser's orders to his forces to fall back to the Suez Canal following the breakthrough of Israeli forces in the north and the south of Sinai early that morning. Disclosure of this order enables the IDF to start an offensive against Syria on the Golan Heights three days later. **12 October:** The Israeli Navy destroyer *Eilat* on a routine coastal patrol from Ashdod port past El Arish toward the northern entrance to the Suez Canal at Port Said is ambushed by an Egyptian missile boat and sunk. This was the result of miscommunication of early warning intelligence information.

1968 Through the Swiss-Jewish engineer, Alfred Frauenkecht, Lishka Le'Kishrei Mada/Bureau of Scientific Liaison (LAKAM) obtains the blueprints of the Mirage III jet fighter. David Bar-Tov replaces Yehuda Lapidot as director of Nativ. Zvi Zamir is appointed director of the Mossad, holding this position until 1974. **February:** The remaining members of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt are released under a prisoner-of-war exchange agreement between the Israeli and Egyptian governments. **November:** The Plumbat Operation, a combined action by the Bureau of Scientific Liaison and the Mossad in support of the Israeli nuclear weapons effort, is carried out. A German freighter with a cargo of some 200 tons of uranium oxide ("yellowcake") disappears. When the freighter reappears at a Turkish port, the cargo has gone; it was transferred at sea to an Israeli ship.

1969 Marwan Ashraf, scion of a respected Egyptian family and married to the third daughter of Egyptian president Nasser, volunteers to provide the Mossad with sensitive and top classified information from the Egyptian government. Ashraf's information on Egypt's inability to wage war against Israel because its army lacks the weapons necessary for this purpose gradually crystallizes in Israeli intelligence circles into what becomes known as "the Concept." **24 December:** In the Noah's Ark Operation, Israel "steals" five missile boats it had ordered—and paid for—from the French shipyard at Cherbourg.

1972 September: After the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games by Palestinian terrorists of the Black September Organization, Aharon Yariv, newly appointed adviser to the prime minister on counterterrorism, and Mossad director Zamir persuade the Israeli cabinet to form a top secret counterterrorist committee within the Israeli cabinet. Prime Minister Golda Meir and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan chair this special panel, known simply as "Committee-X." It assumes competence to compile a list of targets for assassination. Committee-X resolves to kill any Black September terrorist involved directly or indirectly in planning, assisting, or executing the attack on the Israeli athletes. **October:** Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI), serving in this position until April 1974. **16 October:** Wael Zwaiter, organizer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) terror activity in Europe, is killed by a Mossad team in Italy. **December:** A Jewish-Arab spy ring is exposed in the so-called Udi Adiv affair.

1973 24 January: Hussein Abad Al-Chir is killed in Cyprus by Mossad agents. **April:** Marwan Ashraf, the Mossad's top source, provides early warning that at the end of April, later revised to May, Egypt will launch a war; in fact, April and May 1973 pass uneventfully, except for a small-scale mobilization of Israeli reserves. **9 April:** The Spring of Youth Operation is carried out in Beirut by Sayeret Matkal with the assistance of the Mossad. Abu Yussef (also known as Mahmoud Yussuf Najjer), Kamal Adwan, and Kamal Nasser are killed. All three had played a part in the Munich massacre. **12 April:** Ziad Muchassi, the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) liaison with the Soviet KGB, is killed by an explosive device in his bedroom at the Aristide Hotel in Athens by a Mossad team. **28 June:** Mohammed Boudia, liaison between the PLO headquarters and its offices in Europe, is killed by the Mossad. **21 July:** Mossad agents in Lillehammer, Norway, kill a Moroccan waiter, Ahmed Bouchiki, after misidentifying him as Ali Hassan Salameh, leader of the Black September Organization which carried out the 1972 Munich massacre. **August:** The Syrian army carries out a massive deployment of troops and weaponry along the Golan front, accompanied by a dense (surface-to-air) missile network, which covers the airspace over the Golan Heights as well as the Syrian divisions. Military Intelligence (MI) analysts dismiss this deployment as defensive against Israeli air strikes. Nothing further occurs at that time. **13 September:** Israel Air Force (IAF) jets are attacked during a reconnaissance mission over Syrian territory. IAF planes shoot down 12 Syrian

aircraft and suffer one loss. This naturally reinforces the military's belief that the Arabs will not attack on account of Israel's once-again proven air capability. **25 September:** King Hussein meets Prime Minister Meir and warns her that the Israeli-Arab diplomatic impasse will lead to a war, which Egypt and Syria are intent on launching. **1 October:** Lieutenant Siman-Tov, a junior intelligence officer in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Southern Command, contrary to his commanders, strongly maintains that the huge Egyptian deployments and exercises along the west bank of the Suez Canal seem to be camouflage for a real canal-crossing assault. His assessment is categorically rejected. After the Yom Kippur War, the so-called Siman-Tov procedure is initiated in MI, whereby every Israeli army officer who holds a different view is allowed to express it freely, even bypassing his immediate commander and going directly to the director of Military Intelligence (DMI). Normally, no soldier or officer is allowed to bypass his immediate commanders. **5 October:** The director of the Mossad, Zvi Zamir, receives a phone call from the Mossad's case officer in London, who is in contact with Marwan Ashraf. The latter has given him the codeword *znon*, signifying the immediate unleashing of war, but he insists on providing more details only to the Mossad director in person. Zamir flies to London for the meeting. **6 October:** Zamir calls the DMI, Eli Zeira, from the Israeli embassy in London on an open phone line due to the absence of a cipher clerk; no clerks are available because of the Yom Kippur observances. Zamir conveys Zeira Ashraf's message that war will start that day before sunset and that the attack will be by combined Egyptian and Syrian forces simultaneously. At 1:55 P.M., with Israel woefully unprepared, the Egyptian/Syrian attack is launched. Amos Levinburg, an intelligence officer, is captured in the Hermon outpost by Syrian commandos at the beginning of the Yom Kippur War. He has a phenomenal memory and conveys to his captors a vast amount of information about IDF structure. He is nicknamed "the Jewish book-writing professor" in Syrian communications. When the range of information he has divulged to the enemy becomes known, there is no alternative to a total overhaul of MI. Levinburg returns to Israel, is recognized as an IDF invalid, and is not charged. **12 October:** Field intelligence officers pick up on certain changes that occur on the battlefield during the war. One success is the prediction two days in advance of the start of the second stage of the Egyptian offensive. MI forwards this information to the chief of the general staff (CGS), Lieutenant General David Elazar. Intelligence has detected a "seam" between the Egyptian Second Army, which crossed the Suez Canal near Ismailia,

and the Third Army, to the south, which crossed between the Suez and Great Bitter Lake. This seam is the most vulnerable point of the Egyptian forces, and through it IDF forces reach the Suez Canal at Dier Suweir on 15 October and cross to the west bank of the canal. **16–17 October:** Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) from MI successfully tracks the Egyptian 25th Armored Brigade as it makes its way northward from the Third Army enclave toward the Israeli crossing zone. With this early information, a division in Major General Ariel Sharon's force sets a two-brigade trap on the shore of Great Bitter Lake. As a result, the 25th Brigade is almost completely destroyed, with few Israeli casualties. This marks the start of the collapse of the Egyptian army. **18 November:** The Israeli government resolves to establish a state commission of inquiry to investigate the Israeli intelligence failure on the eve of the Yom Kippur War; this becomes known as the Agranat Commission.

1974 The Greek Catholic archbishop Hilarion Capucci, who has smuggled weapons for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Lebanon to Israel, is caught by the Israeli Security Agency (ISA) and imprisoned. **2 April:** The Agranat Commission publishes its interim 40-page report. The recommendation is that chief of the general staff (CGS) Major General Elazar, director of Military Intelligence (DMI) Zeira, intelligence officer of Southern Command David Gedaliah, and head of the Egyptian desk in Military Intelligence (MI) Yonah Bendman be removed from their positions. The commission counsels pluralism of assessment in the Israeli intelligence community and the creation of a control unit to produce a "devil's advocate" evaluation. Shlomo Gazit is appointed DMI with promotion to major general; Gazit serves in this position until 1979. Yitzhak Hofi is appointed director of the Mossad.

1976 **27 June:** Air France Flight 139 takes off from Athens en route to Paris. At about 12:30 P.M., less than 10 minutes after takeoff, the aircraft is hijacked and diverted to Benghazi in Libya. After seven hours on the tarmac there, during which the Airbus is refueled and one female hostage is allowed to disembark, it takes off again. **28 June:** At 3:15 A.M., the aircraft lands at Entebbe International Airport in Uganda. The passengers are held hostage in the Old Terminal transit hall. The hijackers later release many of them, keeping only Israelis and Jews, whom they threaten to murder if the Israeli government does not comply with the captors' demand to release Palestinian prisoners. The Israeli government decides to undertake a military rescue mission to free the hostages after days of col-

lecting intelligence and careful planning. **3–4 July:** In Operation Yehonathan, four Israel Air Force (IAF) transport aircraft fly secretly from Israel and night-land with no aid from ground control at the Entebbe airport. They are followed by an air force jet with medical facilities flying into Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi, Kenya. More than 100 Israeli troops, including the elite Sayeret Matkal unit, arrive to conduct the assault, assisted by some Mossad agents and with the support of the Kenyan government. In a superb military action, they free all but three of the hostages, who are killed, and return them safely to Israel. Excellent intelligence has contributed greatly to the success of the operation.

1977 The Israeli intelligence community fails to perceive the seriousness of Egypt's President Anwar Sadat in his peaceful intentions. The Kilowatt Group for international cooperation among intelligence services on counterterrorism is formed at the instigation of Israel, largely in response to the 1972 Munich massacre. The group is dominated by Israel because of its strong position in information exchange on Arab-based terror groups in Europe and the Middle East.

1979 February: Yehoshua Saguy is promoted to major general and appointed the ninth director of Military Intelligence (DMI).

1980 The Israeli intelligence community fails to predict the outbreak of the Iraqi war against Iran. **4 January:** Izzat Nafsu, a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) lieutenant and member of Israel's Circassian minority, is arrested on suspicion of treason and espionage for the Palestinians in Lebanon. He is brutally interrogated, makes a forced confession of his guilt, is tried, and is sentenced to 18 years in prison. After seven years in prison he is acquitted by the Israeli Supreme Court of the charges. **December:** Avraham Shalom is appointed director of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA).

1981 7 June: The Israel Air Force (IAF) bombs the Iraqi nuclear reactor Tammuz-1 at Osirak in an attack code-named Opera Operation.

1982 12 September: Nahum Admoni is unexpectedly appointed director of the Mossad after the person designated for the post, Major General Yekutiel Adam, is killed during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the Peace for Galilee Operation. **28 September:** The Israeli government decides to set up a commission of inquiry into the events of 16 September at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut; it is known as the Kahan Commission.

1983 The Moshe Dayan Center for the Middle East is established at Tel Aviv University; it concentrates its research on the Arab world (including North Africa), Turkey, and Iran. **January:** Marcus Klinberg, vice president of the Nes Tsiona Institute for Biological Research, is arrested for espionage for the Soviet Union. He is tried, found guilty, and imprisoned for 20 years. **7 February:** The Kahan Commission reports that the massacre at Sabra and Shatila was carried out by a Lebanese Phalangist unit, acting on its own; although the unit's entry into the camps was known to Israel, no Israeli was directly responsible for the events that occurred in the camps. **April:** Ehud Barak is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI) and promoted to major general. The Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS) is founded at Tel Aviv University. The center is considered the academic equivalent to Military Intelligence (MI).

1984 **12 April:** Four Palestinians hijack bus no. 300, en route from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon with 41 passengers, and force it to drive to the Gaza Strip. The terrorists negotiate for the release of some 500 PLO terrorists in Israeli jails. An Israel Defense Forces (IDF) unit storms the bus, releases the passengers except for one woman passenger who is killed; seven other passengers are wounded. Two of the terrorists are killed inside the bus. The other two are severely beaten, then driven off in a van by ISA agents, who torture and kill them. The revelation of these events by the Israeli press creates an enormous furor. **May:** Jonathan Jay Pollard, an American naval security analyst, begins to deliver sensitive information to his Israeli handlers Yossi Yagur and Aviam Sella. **June:** The Zorea Commission of Inquiry is formed to determine who killed the two terrorists of bus 300 who were captured alive; the commission is headed by reserve major general Meir Zorea. **21 November:** The Moses Operation to bring Ethiopian Jews to Israel starts, continuing until 5 January 1985.

1985 **28 March:** Another operation to bring Ethiopian Jews to Israel, Sheba Operation, begins; it is of short duration, lasting three to four days. **6 June:** The Center for Special Studies is established with the primary purpose of memorializing the fallen of the Israeli intelligence community. It devotes its resources to the education of the younger generation about the past deeds of Israeli intelligence. **November:** Pollard is arrested in the United States and charged with espionage, straining relations between the two allies.

1986 Major General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI), a position he holds until 1991. **September:**

Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at the Dimona Nuclear Research Center, reveals sensitive information about the reactor to the *Sunday Times* (London). **24 September:** Cheryl Ben-Tov (Cindy), a female Mossad assistant agent, contrives to meet Vanunu in London in an attempt to lure him to Rome for capture and conveyance to Israel for trial. **30 September:** After a few meetings in London, Cindy succeeds in getting Vanunu to her supposed apartment in Rome, where three Mossad case officers await them. Vanunu is held, given a knockout injection, and placed in a large crate, which is taken to an Israeli ship and loaded as diplomatic cargo en route to Israel. **5 October:** The *Sunday Times* publishes the article on the Israeli nuclear weapons program, with photos provided by Vanunu that he took at the Dimona reactor.

1987 The Israeli intelligence community fails to predict the Palestinian uprising (known as the Intifada). The Landau Commission of Inquiry into Israeli Security Agency (ISA) methods of investigation regarding hostile terrorist activities is appointed to probe allegations of torture of arrested Palestinians; the commission's conclusions pave the way for the 2002 ISA law. **April:** Yosef Amit, a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) intelligence officer, is convicted of treason and espionage for the United States.

1988 The Israeli intelligence community fails to foresee the end of the Iraq-Iran war, which occurs in 1988. The Ofeq-1 satellite is launched for research purposes to examine various features of intelligence satellites. Shabtai Kalmanovitch is found guilty and sentenced to a prison term for espionage for the Soviet Union. **April:** Yaakov Peri takes office as director of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA). He holds the post until 1 March 1995. **16 April:** Abu Jihad is assassinated in his villa in Tunisia by the Israeli elite Sayeret Matkal unit with the assistance of the Mossad.

1989 Shabtai Shavit is appointed director of the Mossad, remaining in this position until 1996.

1990 The Ofeq-2 satellite is launched for research purposes. **22 March:** Gerald Bull, a Canadian astrophysicist and metallurgist who worked on a project to build a cannon powerful enough to launch satellites into space for Iraq, is shot dead at close range at the entrance to his home, allegedly by the Mossad. **September:** Victor Ostrovsky, a former Mossad trainee, publishes his book *By Way of Deception: The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer*. The Mossad embarks on a complex and politically sensitive mission, code-named Solomon Operation, to airlift thousands of

Jews from Ethiopia to Israel. The Israeli government has reached an agreement with Ethiopia's ruler, Colonel Haile Mariam Mengistu, to allow their departure for just $30 million.

1991 **March:** Major General Uri Sagie assumes the directorship of Military Intelligence (MI) and serves in this position until June 1995. **24 May:** Operation Solomon begins. Israel Air Force (IAF) and El Al airplanes take off and land continuously at Addis Ababa airport. Thirty-three hours after the first plane has left Israel, the last plane returns to Israel; 14,325 Ethiopian Jews have been flown to the country.

1992 Ya'acov Kedmi is appointed director of Nativ, the intelligence organization focusing on the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, serving in this position until 1999. **September:** Nativ organizes the removal of Jews from the city of Sukhumi in Georgia, which is under attack by Muslim rebels. The same month, it operates an airlift of Jews from Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, which has also been attacked by rebels, members of an extremist Muslim organization.

1993 **2 September:** Shimon Levinson, a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) colonel, is convicted of spying for the Soviet Union.

1995 Moshe Ya'alon is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI) with promotion to major general. **April:** Ofeq-3, the first operational intelligence satellite, is launched by the Israeli-made Shavit-1 satellite launcher. **25 October:** Dr. Fathi Shkaki, leader of the Islamic Jihad, is shot and killed in Malta, allegedly by the Mossad.

1996 Yehuda Gill of the Mossad fabricates a false assessment that Syria is making preparations to launch a war against Israel. **June:** Danny Yatom is appointed director of the Mossad and serves in this position until 1998.

1997 **September:** Mossad agents fail in an attempt to assassinate Khaled Masha'al, a leader of the Hamas, in Amman, Jordan. The failed assassination and the false Canadian passports used by the arrested Mossad agents strain Israel's relations with Jordan and Canada.

1998 **January:** An attempt to launch Ofeq-4 fails. **18–19 February:** Mossad agents are caught red-handed trying to plant listening devices in an apartment in Bern, Switzerland, belonging to Abdulla Al-Zayn, a key figure in the Hizbullah movement in Europe. **5 March:** Efraim Halevy is appointed director of the Mossad; he serves in this position

until September 2002. **9 July:** Major General Amos Malka takes office as director of Military Intelligence (DMI). **15 July:** Nahum Manbar is sentenced to 16 years imprisonment for selling raw materials and know-how on the production of biological and chemical weapons to Iran and giving advice on how to set up factories.

2000 Avraham (Avi) Dichter is appointed director of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA), serving in this position until 2005. His period as director of the ISA coincides with the tough years of the Al-Aqsa Intifada; Dichter records success in a substantial decline in the level of Palestinian terror against the Israeli population. Magna Carta 2, an agreement on the division of labor among the Mossad, Military Intelligence (MI), and the ISA aimed at introducing order into their work, is signed by the directors of these organizations. **April:** In recognition of the growing need for collecting combat intelligence by professional bodies, and the vital necessity to combine them in an organic framework, a decision is made to create a field intelligence corps.

2001 Aharon Ze'evi is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI) with promotion to major general. He serves in this position until 2005.

2002 **May:** Ofeq-5, replacing Ofeq-3, is successfully launched. **September:** Meir Dagan is appointed director of the Mossad and assumes office. **16 November:** The Knesset adopts the Israeli Security Agency (ISA) Law, regulating and restricting the ISA interrogators' use of force against suspected terrorists.

2003 **July:** The Knesset Committee of Inquiry into Israel's Intelligence System in Light of the War in Iraq begins its work. The aim is to assess the functioning of the Israeli intelligence system in light of what are deemed failures stemming from major inherent structural problems.

2004 **March:** The Knesset Committee of Inquiry into Israel's Intelligence System in Light of the War in Iraq concludes its work and proposes an unprecedented and far-reaching program of structural reform for the intelligence community. **July:** Two Mossad agents are found guilty by a New Zealand court of fraudulently attempting to obtain New Zealand passports. **September:** The launch of Ofeq-6, equipped with long-range cameras fitted with sophisticated night vision capabilities, fails.

2005 **May:** Yuval Diskin is appointed director of the Israeli Security Agency (ISA). **June:** Major General Amos Yadlin is appointed director of Military Intelligence (DMI).

Introduction

THE UNIQUE ISRAELI NEED FOR HIGH QUALITY INTELLIGENCE

In the late 1960s, there was a weekly program on Israel Radio called "On a Desert Island." Guests on the show were asked what they would take to the island if they were allowed to take just one item. One guest replied that he would take a Bible, for example. Based on this idea, an interviewer asked the chief of the general staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the mid-1970s, Lieutenant General Mordechai Gur, what he would take with him to the desert island. "An intelligence officer," he said. He added that as chief of staff he might be able to serve as an artillery officer or command the armor, but without an intelligence officer he would be unable to direct any battle.

This is true for any country, but for Israel as a small country, inferior in terms of resources and quantity of manpower to its hostile neighbors, it is especially true. The majority of IDF troops are reserves, who cannot be mobilized for long periods without harming the country's economy. Therefore, the Israeli decision makers impose on Israeli intelligence a unique requirement, unlike anything known in any other intelligence community in the world: to provide early warning of the danger of Arab armies massing along the Israeli borders with the intention of waging war against Israel. The early warning has to be delivered at least 48 to 72 hours before a military attack against Israel, allowing Israel time to mobilize its reserves. This task of providing such early warning has been assigned to Military Intelligence (MI).

After the 1973 Yom Kippur War surprise, it became clear that providing early warning against such a war was almost impossible. It actually meant predicting the unpredictable. The Yom Kippur War can be regarded as unique in the sphere of surprises, since all the information

about the Egyptian and the Syrian military capabilities and their armies' deployment was known; yet despite all, there was a deep misunderstanding with regard to Egyptian and Syrian intentions.

Every democracy, and a democracy more than a nondemocracy, needs the tool of covert action. This is usually regarded as the "third option," something between all-out war, which is overwhelming, and diplomacy, which often produces no effective results. Israeli intelligence acts covertly. Some of the actions have been highly successful and impressive, while others failed and turned into fiascos. Covert actions were undertaken primarily by the Mossad, but MI and the elite units (especially Sayeret Matkal) took part in the most striking ones. The Israeli Security Agency (ISA) has also engaged in covert actions.

While covert action is not unique to Israeli intelligence, the Mossad and Nativ have been given a unique responsibility for taking care of Jewish citizens of other countries in distress, especially in so-called rogue states and in the former communist bloc countries. These activities have included bringing Jews secretly out of Arab countries, such as those of the Maghreb, as well as from Ethiopia. No other intelligence service in the world is known to protect such a widespread group of people who are not citizens of the state to which the intelligence service belongs.

The Israeli intelligence community, especially the Bureau of Scientific Liaison (LAKAM), has engaged in the acquisition of military technology and know-how for Israel, which frequently was embargoed by Western counties. For example, after the 1967 Six-Day War, France was reluctant to sell Mirage III aircraft to the Israel Air Force, and so LAKAM undertook the theft of Mirage III blueprints. LAKAM was also involved in obtaining uranium for Israeli nuclear weapons development.

The 1968 Plumbat Operation, known also as the Uranium Ship Operation, is a good example of such covert activity, in which a team of Israeli agents hijacked a ship full of uranium for the use of the Israeli nuclear weapons program. Israeli intelligence, through the director of security for the Defense Establishment (DSDE), was in charge of protecting and hiding the "greatest secret," the Israeli nuclear weapons program. But it failed when Mordechai Vanunu revealed the program to the *Sunday Times* in September 1986.

EVOLUTION OF THE ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND ITS ACTIVITIES

The origin of the Israeli intelligence services can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire (1516–1917) when *Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* (NILI) was founded as an espionage group seeking to assist the British army to conquer Palestine from the Turks in anticipation that Britain would establish in Palestine a homeland for Jewish people. NILI's aims were sincere, but its members were amateurs. They tried to use homing pigeons to deliver intelligence information to the British, but they lacked the necessary skill and were caught.

The British set up their mandate in Palestine, and the idea of a Jewish homeland, the creation of a Jewish state in the territory, began to progress as anticipated. As a consequence, the Jewish-Arab conflict came into being, and the Jewish *Yishuv* (settlement) in the region established underground militias to assist illegal Jewish immigration.

The foremost and largest Jewish-Zionist underground militia was the Haganah, which had as its intelligence arm a body known as the Information Service (Sheruth Yedioth, or Shai). Its task was to collect information on the British, the Arabs, and the Jews in Palestine. Shai was formally set up in September 1940 and was structured as three main departments. The British department, also known as the Political Department, was assigned to infiltrate the British army, police, and government in mandatory Palestine. The Arab Department was headed by a Jewish Arabist, Ezra Danin. The Internal Department focused principally on Jews on the right of the political spectrum in Palestine who were members of militias other than the Haganah.

Two routes of immigration were open to Jews to emigrate from Europe, one legal—that is, permitted by the British—and the other illegal. The numbers of legal immigrants were small. Between 1939 and 1944, Britain allowed only 75,000 Jews to enter Palestine legally; beyond that figure, Jews could immigrate to Palestine only with Arab consent. The Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth came into being because of the need for illegal Jewish immigration. At first the organization consisted of 10 people working in six countries: Switzerland, Austria, France, Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey. These agents were assigned to produce false passports, arrange escape routes, and charter ships to carry the illegal immigrants to Palestine without being detected by the British authorities.

Another preindependence militia, which constituted the executive arm of the Haganah, was the Palmah. It had an Arab Platoon, whose members were Jews disguised as Arabs sent on intelligence missions in the Arab townships in Palestine and the neighboring Arab countries. Acquisitions (Rekhesh) was another organization, whose task was to buy arms and smuggle them into Palestine for the underground Jewish militias.

After the rise of Israel as an independent state in May 1948, Shai was disbanded the next month on 30 June. Utilizing Shai's manpower and experience, the formal Israeli intelligence organizations were created. MI was established in the IDF, initially as the Department for Military Intelligence, later upgraded to the Directorate of Military Intelligence in 1953. The main task of MI in the 1950s was to assess the operational feasibility of military reprisals against proposed targets after *fedayeen* infiltration and attacks on Israeli civilians. Another task, which became the most dominant one, was to provide early warning against a possibility of war being launched against Israel by any neighboring Arab country. MI is still considered the principal intelligence organization in the Israeli intelligence community in assessing imminent threats.

The main activity of MI nowadays is to produce comprehensive national intelligence estimates for the Israeli prime minister and cabinet, including communications interception, target studies on the nearby Arab states, and intelligence about the chances of war. This function is known as assessment.

After the Yom Kippur War, some organizational changes were made in MI. The first and most important of these was the strengthening and upgrading in rank of the research done by MI. This function was upgraded from a research department to a research division. Another procedural change, known as the Siman-Tov Procedure, was the granting of permission to even junior intelligence officers to express their views and assessments to a higher-ranking officer if their immediate commander was reluctant to accept their opinions. A new unit known as the Control Unit was added to MI whose purpose is to take the stance of devil's advocate. The officers of this unit are directly subordinate to the director of Military Intelligence (DMI).

The Air Intelligence Squadron performs the function of data collection by means of aerial reconnaissance and signals intelligence, using an assortment of intelligence equipment, including remotely piloted and unmanned vehicles that are recoverable and recyclable after first use.

These devices are excellent for gathering photographic information, which can be directly transmitted to commanders' headquarters; immediate decisions can thus be made regarding troop deployment without ground reconnaissance being sent out.

The Naval Intelligence Squadron is a small unit of the Israel Navy that provides to the MI, on a consultative basis, assessments of sea-based threats to Israel. The squadron is also responsible for coastal studies, naval gunfire missions, and beach studies for amphibious assaults.

Soon after the disbanding of the Shai, the Political Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs became responsible for collecting intelligence worldwide and for covert actions in Arab countries. This department was disbanded after the establishment of the Mossad in April 1949 and its reorganization in 1951. Originally the Mossad was engaged in covert action abroad, but after the Yom Kippur War, at the recommendation of the Agranat Commission, a research branch was set up. The aim was a pluralistic system of intelligence that uses more than just the single assessment prepared by MI. This is not an Israeli innovation, but it was adopted by Israeli intelligence. The usefulness of the pluralistic model still has to be studied, and conclusions drawn as to whether it serves the policy makers better or not.

Following another recommendation of the Agranat Commission, an intelligence arm was reestablished in the Foreign Ministry, again with the purpose of pluralism of assessment. This newly established body was named the Center for Political Planning and Research (CPPR). But in 1977, the foreign minister Moshe Dayan was reluctant to involve this intelligence arm too much in the planning and decision-making process, so the word "planning" was dropped and the name today is the Center for Political Research (CPR). Its main task is analysis of information received from foreign ministry diplomats worldwide.

The Israeli Security Agency (ISA)—popularly known in Israel and worldwide by the Hebrew acronym Shabak and also as Shin Bet—was formed initially in 1948 as a unit in the IDF for internal security and counterespionage. The Arab Affairs Branch of the ISA mainly conducts antiterrorist activities. The Non-Arab Affairs Branch is responsible for counterespionage; it was at first subdivided into Communist and non-Communist subsections, but that distinction became obsolete after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The functions of the Protective Security Branch of ISA include protecting foremost Israeli figures such as the

president, the prime minister, and other government ministers. In addition, it is in charge of protecting state buildings, embassies, and Israeli airlines. At the recommendation of the Agranat Commission, a research department was set up in the Arab Affairs Branch of the ISA. This branch covers three fields: Palestine: political; Palestine: sabotage; and Palestinians: Israeli. Academics in the relative disciplines are engaged for research in these ISA areas.

In 1960, when Shimon Peres was deputy director-general of the Ministry of Defense, LAKAM was instituted, as noted above, to collect a variety of scientific and technical intelligence. After it became known that LAKAM had engaged Jonathan Jay Pollard to spy for Israel against the United States, LAKAM was disbanded; however, it is believed that a unit in the Foreign Ministry, whose name is unknown, is still engaged in obtaining technological knowledge worldwide for Israel.

Nativ, also mentioned earlier, was established in 1951. This intelligence organization has a glorious past as a sometimes clandestine operation bringing immigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc, Nativ has become far less cloaked in secrecy, and there are thoughts of transforming it into a cultural organization.

The National Security Council (NSC) was established in 1999 according to the Israeli Government Resolution 4889, which was unanimously adopted on 7 March 1999. The NSC was designed to serve as a coordinating, integrative, deliberative, and supervisory body on matters of national policy; it operates as an arm of the Prime Minister's Office. The chairman of the NSC also serves as national security adviser to the prime minister.

Early in 2000, for the first time in Israel's history, the existence of the above-mentioned quasi-intelligence organization the DSDE became publicly known. The DSDE is deemed so secret that still now it is only conjectured that it was set up in the Ministry of Defense, probably in 1974 or even in the 1960s. The DSDE is apparently responsible for the physical security of the Defense Ministry and its research facilities, including the nuclear reactor at Dimona. It is also charged with preventing leaks from the Israeli security institutions, including the Mossad and the ISA.

To coordinate all the domestic and foreign intelligence activity of the Israeli intelligence community, the first director of the Mossad initiated

the establishment of the Committee of Directors of the Intelligence Services, known by its Hebrew acronym VARASH. It first convened in 1949. Its members currently are the directors of the Mossad, MI, and the ISA; formerly the inspector general of the Israel Police, the director of the CPR in the Foreign Ministry, the counterterrorism adviser to the prime minister, and the director of Nativ were also members of VARASH.

Academic centers for strategic studies affiliated with Israeli universities serve as intelligence assessment organizations of a sort, as well. The best known are the Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies at Bar Ilan University; the International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism (ICT) at the Academic Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) in Herzliya; the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS) at Tel Aviv University; and the Moshe Dayan Center for the Middle East, also at Tel Aviv University.

By and large, the mantra of the Israeli intelligence community, as invented by Yehoshafat Harkabi, a former DMI, and still applied, is "know your enemy."

SUCCESSES SCORED BY THE ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

MI is known for a long list of assessment failures, especially the 1973 Yom Kippur War surprise. Yet its successes may be assumed to outnumber the failures. Successes are kept secret, while failures and fiascos immediately become headline news far and wide. Libya's decision to cease its nonconventional weapons program was presumably the result of good or probably excellent Israeli intelligence gathering on that country. Israel no doubt shared this intelligence with the U.S. intelligence community, and the result was heavy pressure on Libya. International pressure on Iran may well be the outcome of first-class intelligence in whose collection Israel has taken part and still does, along with other Western intelligence communities.

MI has also dispatched Israeli spies to Arab countries. The best known are Eli Cohen, Max Binnet, and Wolfgang Lotz, among others. Although these three were ultimately caught, there were Israeli spies who were not apprehended and gathered important intelligence information that contributed to the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War. In the 1960s the task of dispatching spies to Arab countries was assigned to

the Mossad. Israeli spies who did an excellent job and were never caught include Yair Ben-Shaaltiel.

The IDF elite unit Sayeret Matkal has carried out the most daring covert military actions. The most famous is the Yehonathan Operation to free the passengers of Air France flight 139 who were hijacked by Palestinian terrorists. Sayeret Matkal succeeded in rescuing the passengers from remote Entebbe, Uganda, on the night of 3/4 July 1976. These commandos also succeeded in a brilliantly planned covert action known as the Spring of Youth Operation in April 1973 in which Kamal Adwan, Kamal Nasser, and Abu Yussuf were killed for their part in the massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. The Wrath of God Operation is another example of how the Mossad succeeded in tracing most of the Black September Organization (BSO) members who were in some way involved in the Munich massacre. Despite several failures in this operation, it is generally regarded as a success, though the main purpose of the assassination of the BSO was revenge. Sayeret Matkal also assassinated Abu Jihad in April 1988 and succeeded in many other covert actions that have not been made public. All these military covert actions were based on excellent intelligence.

The Mossad scored its most impressive success in Adolf Eichmann's capture in 1960, bringing him to justice in Israel. Other Mossad feats in the 1960s included the discovery of the kidnapped Israeli boy Yossele Schumacher and stealing the MiG-21. The Mossad accomplished the secret conveyance of Ethiopian Jews to Israel in the well-known Moses Operation and Solomon Operation in 1984–1985 and 1991, respectively. As for conveying Jews to Israel from countries in which they were living in distressful conditions, in the 1960s the Yakhin Operation bringing Jews from the Maghreb countries was a triumph for the Mossad. Even earlier, between 1949 and 1951 the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth successfully carried out the Ezra and Nehemiah Operation, bringing most of the Jews of Iraq to Israel. In 1986 the Mossad was able to lure Mordechai Vanunu to Rome, from where he was taken to Israel to stand trial for treason.

The ISA scored notable successes in detecting spies. Among them was Yisrael Baer, who managed to gain access to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's diary on the 1948–1949 War of Independence. Another spy detected and caught by the ISA was Ze'ev Avni, the only Soviet spy who was able to penetrate the Mossad in the early 1950s.

Also in the 1950s, the ISA successfully elicited information on the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc by questioning new immigrants to Israel from those countries; this vital information was conveyed to the United States, then at the height of the Cold War. Furthermore, the ISA obtained from the new immigrants Soviet identity cards, which were of use to the United States in dispatching its agents clandestinely to the USSR. This contributed to the development of the Israel-U.S. intelligence cooperation in subsequent years. Israeli agents obtained Khrushchev's Speech in 1956; it too was handed over to the United States, and this likewise promoted these intelligence ties.

In recent years, the ISA has won major victories in the war on Palestinian terrorism against Israeli civilians. Numerous early warnings of imminent terror attacks, around 50 each day, are received. Nevertheless, the volume of terrorism has been substantially contained.

GRAVE FAILURES AS WELL

Along with the impressive successes, Israeli intelligence, like every intelligence community, has failed in many instances, and these are the activities most talked about. Many of the failures led to great political scandals.

The earliest of these is known as the 1954 Bad Business. This was a kind of covert action in which members of a Jewish espionage network in Egypt carried out a series of sabotage attacks against Western targets that were meant to be seen as having been committed by Egyptians generally, thus driving a wedge between Great Britain and the United States and Egypt. The detection of the perpetrators of these deeds resulted in a major political scandal and the eventual resignation of Israeli prime ministers and ministers.

Another MI failure was the Night of Ducks debacle in 1959, when a general call-up exercise of the reserves was broadcast over Israel Radio, without prior announcement that any such exercise was to be held. As a result, the Arab armies believed that Israel was preparing for war and went into a state of high alert. This again led to a scandal and the forced resignation of Israeli generals, including the DMI at the time, Major General Yehoshafat Harkabi.

MI is known for a long series of assessment failures, many due to miscollection of information. The first is the Rotem Affair in February

1960, when most of the Egyptian army concentrated on the Negev border without any early Israeli intelligence warning. Another failure was the erroneous assessment of Egyptian intentions in the months preceding the Six-Day War. But the most notorious wrong assessment was that of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, when MI failed to grasp the Egyptian and Syrian intentions of launching a war. After the Yom Kippur War, MI's evaluation that Egypt was not yet ready for peace contributed to the lack of readiness of Israel's political and military decision makers for Anwar Sadat's peace initiative in 1977.

MI did not predict the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories, known as the First Intifada, which started in December 1987. At the end of the 1980s MI failed to identify the buildup of Iraq's nuclear capacity, and it gave no early warning of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, which occurred in August 1990. In the 1990s, MI's apocalyptic vision of unspeakable danger inherent in an Israeli pullout from the security zone in Lebanon prevented such a withdrawal. The ongoing IDF deployment in southern Lebanon incurred enormous costs in the lives of its troops. In the run-up to the war against Iraq in March 2003, MI overestimated Iraqi capabilities in weapons of mass destruction and Saddam Hussein's intention to use such weapons against Israel should his regime find itself with its back to the wall.

The Mossad, for its part, also suffered grave failures. One of the most infamous is the assassination in 1973 of Ahmed Bouchiki, an innocent Arab waiter in Lillehammer, Norway. He had been mistaken for Ali Hassan Salameh, one of the leaders of Black September Organization responsible for the Munich massacre of the Israeli athletes, who had found asylum in Norway. Furthermore, the Mossad agents used fake Canadian passports, which aroused the ire of the Canadian government.

In 1981 false British passports were discovered in a grocery bag in London; this eventually led to a diplomatic row between Britain and Israel over Mossad involvement in an attempt to infiltrate China.

In 1997 two Mossad agents were caught in Jordan (which had earlier signed a peace agreement with Israel) on a mission to assassinate Sheikh Khaled Mash'al, a leader of the Palestinian militant group Hamas, by injecting him with poison. Again, they were caught using false Canadian passports. This resulted in a diplomatic showdown with Canada and Jordan. Israel was forced to provide the antidote to the poison and release some 70 Palestinian prisoners, in particular the militant

Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who played a prominent role in attacks against Israeli civilians and soldiers during the current Al-Aqsa Intifada. In return, the Mossad agents, who would otherwise have faced the death penalty for attempted murder, were released.

In July 2004, New Zealand imposed diplomatic sanctions against Israel over an incident in which two Israelis, Uriel Kelman and Eli Cara, allegedly working for the Mossad, attempted to fraudulently obtain New Zealand passports.

One ISA debacle is the arrest and torture of IDF lieutenant Izzat Nafsu for alleged treason. Another is the Bus 300 Affair. This grim affair of the summary killing of two Palestinian terrorists after their surrender was discovered by the Israeli press. Its exposure led to the concoction of a tissue of lies by an ISA officer, who claimed that Brigadier General Yitzhak Mordechay had beaten the terrorists to death before delivering their bodies to ISA officers.

OVERSEEING THE ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

Given the importance of intelligence, and especially the possibility of failures, oversight is essential. First and foremost is parliamentary oversight by the Knesset Subcommittee for Intelligence and Secret Services. After almost every debacle, a commission of inquiry is appointed to study the matter, to determine the reasons for the failure, and to recommend improvements.

Following the 1954 Bad Business, four committees were appointed to investigate it. The first was the Ulshan-Dori Commission in 1955. Then came the Amiad Commission in 1958, followed by the Cohen Commission in 1960; the last to investigate this scandal was the Committee of Seven that same year. The problem was that none of these committees was a state commission of inquiry.

In 1963, still in the wake of the Bad Business but also following on the heels of the Damocles Operation, the Yadin-Sherf Commission recommended some kind of structural change in the Israeli intelligence community, making it more pluralistic. In a sense, the Yadin-Sherf Commission attempted to duplicate the U.S. pluralistic structure, which had evolved naturally. The recommendation on pluralism at that time was not implemented.

The Agranat Commission (1973–1974) reiterated the recommendation of a pluralist structure. To some extent it was implemented, especially by the creation of research units in the Mossad and the ISA and by the reestablishment of the CPR in the Foreign Ministry.

In the wake of the 1982 events at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut on 28 September 1982, the Israeli government resolved to establish a commission of inquiry in accordance with the Israeli Commissions of Inquiry Law of 1968. This was the Kahan Commission.

In 1984 the Zorea Commission investigated the Bus 300 Affair. And in 2003 the Israeli Knesset set up the Committee of Inquiry into Israel's Intelligence System in Light of the War in Iraq.

Nativ as an intelligence organization was from its inception exempted from the scrutiny of the Israeli state comptroller, but now it is controlled just like any other Israeli government agency.

With regard to improvement in internal practices of the intelligence bodies, the following is an illustration. In 1948, soon after the establishment of the State of Israel, Meir Tobianski, a captain in the Haganah, was charged with treason. He was tried by field court-martial presided over by an officer without judicial training as judge, and he had no counsel for his defense. He was found guilty, sentenced to death, and executed there and then. Over the years, this kind of behavior was gradually eradicated. On 16 November 2002 the Knesset adopted the ISA Law, which restricts the use of force against terrorists during their interrogation. A long course has indeed been traveled in the democratization process.

FROM HUMAN INTELLIGENCE TO TECHNOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE

During Israel's prestate days and for some time after statehood, all organizations of the Israeli intelligence community relied mostly, if not solely, on human intelligence (HUMINT). HUMINT contributed a lot to gathering information about the Arab armies' capabilities. Eli Cohen was regarded as "Our Man in Damascus," Wolfgang Lotz in Egypt was known as "Tel Aviv's Eye in Cairo," and Max Binnet and Sylvia Rafael fulfilled the same human role in many Arab and non-Arab countries. Even before the Yom Kippur War, the Mossad engaged Marwan Ashraf,

the son-in-law of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, as Top Source, who conveyed to his Mossad handlers Egyptian military capabilities and even intentions, with a certain degree of accuracy. Even King Hussein—who, although not an Israeli spy or agent, provided early warning against possibility of war in 1973—can be regarded in a sense as a kind of purveyor of HUMINT.

So, a great deal of intelligence collecting was by means of spies in Arab countries. However, since even before the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Israeli intelligence has relied mostly on technological intelligence, which includes signals intelligence (SIGINT). Unit 8200 in MI is considered among the best SIGINT agencies in the world, equal in status to the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA), albeit smaller in budget and workforce. Israel, although a small country, is one of the pioneers in imagery intelligence (IMINT) and has developed intelligence satellites.

The Mossad is considered one of the leading intelligence agencies in the world in the field of high-tech electronics. It has developed a powerful computer database, known as PROMIS, which can store and retrieve enormous quantities of information. This technology is even sold by the Mossad to intelligence communities of foreign countries.

TRAITORS

From time to time, in Israel as in other countries, traitors in the nation's defense establishment are uncovered. The best known, and probably the one who caused the most damage to Israeli security interests, is Yisrael Baer, previously a lieutenant colonel in the IDF and close to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and his secrets on the history of the War of Independence. He delivered state secrets to the Soviets and was arrested in 1961. Marcus Avraham Klinberg, deputy director of the Biological Institute in Nes Tsiona, where Israel allegedly produces biological weapons, was arrested in 1983 and convicted of conveying secrets to the Soviets. Mordechai Vanunu, an ex-technician at the Dimona Nuclear Research Center, gave away secrets of the Israeli nuclear weapons program to the *Sunday Times* in 1986. Victor Ostrovsky, a former case officer trainee in the Mossad, wrote and published a detailed book on the Mossad without permission. Shimon Levinson, formerly a colonel in the IDF and affiliated with the Mossad, was arrested in 1993 for treason and spying for the Soviet Union.

FUTURE CHALLENGES

In the present day and age, Israeli intelligence still has to be alert to the moods in enemy states, principally Syria and especially Iran with its nuclear weapons program. But at the same time, the Israeli intelligence community is committed to assessing opportunities for peace, and the ISA is required to find openings for dialogue with the Palestinian Authority, in addition to warning of terrorist acts. Another challenge is acquiring intelligence not only on Arab terrorism generated outside Israel but on Israeli terrorism within as well, focusing on subversive individuals among Israeli Arabs and Jews. Dealing with the Jewish and Arab sectors in Israel has likewise to be adjusted to the public mood, which lays increasing stress on human rights.

Yet, regardless of the advances of technology in all fields of Israeli intelligence activity, the human factor, and the quality of intelligence personnel, still rate highest. This is attested by the very high bar that has to be crossed by candidates wishing to enter the ranks of the Israeli intelligence community.

The Dictionary

– A –

AARONSOHN, AHARON (1876–1919). A Romanian-born Jew, Aaronson immigrated with his parents to Palestine in 1882 and became a botanist. During War World I, he received approval from the British to monitor the conditions of the terrain and the movements of the Turkish army in Palestine. In 1915, Aaronsohn formed a secret intelligence network, known as *Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* (**NILI**), together with his sister **Sarah Aaronsohn**, **Avshalom Feinberg**, **Naaman Belkind**, and others. The aim of the organization was to assist the British forces, under General Edmund H. H. Allenby, to capture Palestine from the Ottoman Turks.

However, soon afterward, Aharon Aaronsohn became active in diplomacy, and then most of the burden of running NILI fell on the shoulders of Sarah. In 1916, Aaronsohn visited London, where he circulated a memorandum on the future of Palestine. His paper contributed to solidifying the British idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as part of British policy in the Near East. In January 1919, Aaronsohn cooperated with the Zionist delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, with the aim of determining the boundaries of Palestine. He was killed several months later in a suspicious plane crash over the English Channel on 15 May 1919.

AARONSOHN, SARAH (1890–1917). The sister of **Aharon Aaronsohn**, she was one of the cofounders of *Netzah Yisrael Lo Yeshaker* (**NILI**), the espionage group that succeeded in collecting vital military information to help the British forces capture Palestine from the Ottoman Turks. In the spring of 1917, while on a secret mission to Egypt, Aharon requested that she remain there for her own safety. She refused

and returned to Palestine to head the group. In the fall of 1917, Sarah Aaronsohn was arrested by Turkish military authorities, who tortured her for three days in an attempt to obtain information about the group. She bravely withstood the torture even when they hung her by her hands, whipped the soles of her feet, placed scorching eggs under her armpits and between her thighs, and pulled out her fingernails. Due to the torture and to her determination not to reveal secret information about NILI, Sarah Aaronsohn committed suicide by shooting herself.

ABU IYAD. *See* KHALAF, SALAH.

ABU JIHAD (1935–1988). The nom de guerre of Khalil el-Wazir. He was born in mandatory Palestine, and after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 he fled with his parents to Egypt, where he spent his youth. In 1954 he was arrested in Egypt for laying mines in the Gaza Strip. The next year, he infiltrated into Israel from the Egyptian border and attacked Israeli water installations. In 1959 he met Yasser Arafat and joined his group. Abu Jihad became one of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) leaders, and after the Peace of Galilee operation in 1982, he fled with Arafat to Tunisia. The entire Israeli intelligence community—the **Mossad**, the **Israeli Security Agency**, and **Military Intelligence**—kept close watch on his movements. He was described by the Israeli intelligence community as highly intelligent, with a keen analytical mind, and a good organizer. Abu Jihad was likewise known to Israeli intelligence as the great conciliator in the PLO between Arafat and his violent rivals. In 1988 the Israeli inner cabinet (the 10 leading ministers out of the full cabinet of 25 ministers), in a no-vote procedure, resolved to have Abu Jihad assassinated in Tunisia, nearly 1,500 miles (2,400 kilometers) away from Israel. The immediate reason for the decision was to raise the morale of Israelis in the difficult days of the Palestinian uprising in the late 1980s. In a brilliantly planned mission, one of the most elaborate ever, based on excellent intelligence, Abu Jihad was assassinated on 6 April 1988.

Because of Tunisia's long distance from Israel, it was decided to use the Israel Air Force's Boeing 707 and a flying command post. Major General **Ehud Barak**, then deputy chief of the General Staff, commanded the entire operation from that aircraft, which was equipped with a highly sophisticated communications systems, somewhat sim-

ilar to the American AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System) platform, to serve as a link between the commanders and the Israeli troops on the ground in Tunisia. Alongside Barak on board the Boeing was the deputy head of the Mossad's operations branch. The airplane cruised on a civilian flight path between Sicily and Tunisia, and its pilots were in constant contact with Italian air traffic control. The controllers had neither the time nor the interest to ask the pilots too many questions. To them, the Boeing seemed to be a charter flight of El Al Israel Airlines. Seven Mossad operatives, using fake Lebanese passports and speaking the right Arabic dialect, had prepared the way on the ground. They had hired three vehicles and driven eight Israeli commandos to the target. These men, belonging to the elite **Sayeret Matkal** unit of the Israel Defense Forces, had landed in rubber dinghies launched from a ship anchored a safe distance offshore. The commandos were in three teams: one handled the on-site security; they killed Abu Jihad's driver who drove him to his villa near the Sidi Boussaid neighborhood of Tunis. Another team operated jamming equipment to disrupt telephone calls near the villa. The third team was assigned to the target himself. They forced open the front door of the villa, shot a Tunisian guard using pistols with silencers, and then spotted Abu Jihad at the top of the stairs.

The details of this episode were published in the Israeli press soon after the assassination. Officially, however, Israel has never admitted responsibility for the assassination of Abu Jihad. Still, the fingerprints on the entire operation are those of Israel.

ABU YUSSEF. Also known as Mahmoud Yussuf Najjer, Abu Yussef was a high-ranking official of the Palestine Liberation Organization and was killed on 9 April 1973 in the **Spring of Youth Operation** for his part in the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games. *See also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

ACQUISITIONS. *See* INFORMATION SERVICE.

ADIV, EHUD (UDI). *See* TURKI, DAOUD.

ADMONI, NAHUM (1929–1996). Born in Jerusalem to middle-class parents who immigrated from Poland, Admoni was educated at the

prestigious Rehavia Gymnasium. He served in the **Information Service** (1945–1948) and in **Military Intelligence** during the 1948–1949 War of Independence, being demobilized in 1949 with the rank of first lieutenant. From 1949 until 1950 Admoni served in the **Israeli Security Agency**. Then he studied international relations at the University of California at Berkeley (1950–1954). In 1954 Admoni was given the task of teaching at the **Mossad**'s training center in Tel Aviv. He was stationed in Addis Ababa during the years when Ethiopia had a key role in the Mossad's **Periphery Doctrine**, and during the mid-1960s, the years of the Israeli-French strategic alliance, he was stationed in Paris. After the 1967 **Six-Day War** he was stationed in Washington, D.C., as the liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1976 Admoni was appointed deputy to the Mossad's director, **Yitzhak Hofi**.

On 12 September 1982, during Israel's invasion of Lebanon in the Peace for Galilee Operation, Admoni was unexpectedly appointed director of the Mossad when the person designated for this post, Major General Yekutiel Adam, was killed early in the Israeli invasion. Admoni was by then a 35-year veteran of the organization. He served as director as of the Mossad until 1989 and was replaced by **Shabtai Shavit**. While Admoni was serving as the director of the Mossad, his name remained classified.

Admoni will be remembered as the one who recommended striking the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981. He believed that this might serve as a useful warning to other countries in the Arab world to refrain from building a nuclear weapons capability. He will also be remembered for providing the warning that the Phalange in Lebanon had decided to deal with the Palestinian camps at Sabra and Shatila on the night of 16/17 September 1982.

According to **Victor Ostrovsky**, Admoni decided in 1983 not to convey to the Americans in Beirut an early warning of the anticipated Shi'ite terrorist bombing of the U.S. Marines headquarters in Beirut, despite the alert that the Mossad received. According to Ostrovsky, Admoni thought that the role of the Mossad in Lebanon was to serve the interests of Israel and not to defend the Americans. Admoni denied this charge. During Admoni's period as director the Mossad was connected to the **Irangate Affair**.

ADWAN, KAMAL. Chief of sabotage operations for Al-Fatah in the Israeli-occupied territories. He was also a prominent member of the

Black September Organization. Adwan was killed on 9 April 1973 during the **Spring of Youth Operation** in revenge for his part in the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games. *See also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

AGAF MODI'IN (AMAN). *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

AGRANAT COMMISSION. The full name of this commission is the Agranat Commission of Inquiry into the Events of the **Yom Kippur War**. Responding to public pressure in the wake of the surprise Yom Kippur War of October 1973, on 18 November 1973 the Israeli government resolved to establish a state commission of inquiry to investigate the reasons for Israel's **mehdal** ("flaw") regarding the war. The commission, headed by Supreme Court president Shimon Agranat, consisted of Supreme Court justice Moshe Landau, State Comptroller Yitzhak Nebenzahl, and two former chiefs of the general staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Yigael Yadin and Chaim Laskov. The mandate of the Agranat Commission was to investigate two issues: what information was available during the period preceding the war on the enemy's moves and intentions, and the evaluations by the military leaders concerned; and the preparedness of the IDF before the war and its functioning during the first three days of the fighting.

The commission's interim report was published on 2 April 1974. It was only 40 pages long and recommended the removal from active duty in intelligence work of the director of **Military Intelligence** (MI), Major General **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**; his deputy, Brigadier General **Aryeh Shalev**; Lieutenant Colonel **David Gedaliah**, the intelligence officer of the Southern Command; and Lieutenant Colonel **Yonah Bendman**, head of the Egyptian desk in MI. The commission also recommended that the head of the Southern Command, Major General Shmuel Gonen, and the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General David Elazar, be removed from their posts because the latter had not made his own intelligence evaluations, failed to prepare a detailed defense plan, and had been overconfident in the ability of the Israeli army to repel the enemy with regular forces only. The commission found that the IDF had received appropriate information regarding Egyptian and Syrian preparations but it was not interpreted correctly because of the

adherence to a mistaken **Concept**, namely, that Egypt would not attempt a war without a strong air force, which was not available in late 1973. Additionally, the senior echelons of the IDF assumed there would be sufficient advance warning to preclude any surprise. The commission also criticized the army's state of alertness before the war.

In the area of organization, the Agranat Commission recommended, among other things, the elimination of MI's monopoly on the evaluation of intelligence and the establishment of so-called pluralism in the various types of intelligence evaluations. As a consequence of the interim report's recommendation, a small research department was set up in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with the aim of producing "independent political-strategic intelligence" evaluations, and a large research department was established in the **Mossad**. The commission also reiterated a recommendation made by the **Yadin-Sherf Commission** (1963) that the government should appoint an adviser to the prime minister on intelligence affairs, who with a small, highly skilled staff would be able to assess the assessors independently. This recommendation was not implemented.

AHARONI, ZVI. Born in Germany as Herman Arendt, before World War II Aharoni immigrated to Palestine and lived in a kibbutz. During the war he served in the British army as interrogator of prisoners of war captured in the Middle East, and after the end of hostilities he served in a similar position in liberated Europe. After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, Aharoni joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and served as an interrogator and head of the ISA interrogation unit (1950–1960). In 1958 he attended the Reid School in Chicago, where he studied interrogation techniques. During the operation for **Eichmann's Capture** in 1960, Aharoni was seconded to the **Mossad** and led the operation in Argentina. He also attempted to trace the Nazi criminal Joseph Mengele, but the latter died peacefully in Brazil in 1985.

AHITUV, AVRAHAM (1930–). Born in Germany, Ahituv immigrated with his parents to Palestine in 1935 with a massive wave of German-Jewish immigration. Ahituv joined the **Israeli Security**

Agency (ISA) in 1950 while he was still serving in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). After the **Sinai Campaign** in November 1956, he conducted the ISA operations in the Gaza Strip until the Israeli withdrawal in 1957. Ahituv had close personal and working relations with the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Moshe Dayan, who recommended him to become **Yosef Harmelin**'s deputy in the ISA in 1971. Ahituv had a key role in the search for **Yossele Schumacher** (1961–1962) when he was stationed abroad with the **Mossad**. Most of his career in Israel was dedicated to the Arab Affairs Branch in the ISA. Ahituv revealed the attempted smuggling of arms to Israel by Archbishop **Hilarion Cappucci** in 1974 shortly before his appointment as the director of the ISA in that year. His religious background and his law studies made him sympathetic to Jewish settlers in the West Bank. Ahituv and Prime Minister Menachem Begin had excellent relations. However, his career as director of the ISA will be remembered as the period of arresting, interrogating, and torturing the innocent Israel Defense Forces (IDF) officer Izzat Nafsu. *See also* NAFSU AFFAIR.

AIR INTELLIGENCE SQUADRON/LAHAK MODI'IN (LAMDAN). Prior to the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, this Israel Air Force (IAF) unit was named Branch Air 4 (Anaf Avir 4); after the war it was renamed Lahak Modi'in. The intelligence squadron primarily uses aerial reconnaissance and radio intercepts to collect information on strength levels of Arab air forces and for target compilation. In addition to reconnaissance aircraft, pilotless drones are used extensively to observe enemy installations.

On the eve of the Yom Kippur War, the then head of Branch Air 4, Colonel Rafi Harlev, together with the unit's head of research, Lieutenant Colonel Yehuda Porat, had a key role in formulating assessments based on the underlying **Concept** that Egypt would not be ready to wage war as long as its basic arms requirements of Scud missiles and Sukhoi bombers were not met. Based on information from the **Mossad**'s Top Source, **Marwan Ashraf**, these arms were considered essential by Egypt's military establishment for hitting IAF airfields as well as strategic targets in Israel. The Air Intelligence Squadron assessment was based primarily on the assessments of the Research Department of **Military Intelligence**.

AL-CHIR, HUSSEIN ABAD. A member of Black September Organization, Al-Chir served as liaison between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Soviet KGB in Cyprus. He was targeted for elimination by **Committee X** after the 1972 **Munich massacre**. He was sighted in the Cyprus capital Nicosia, where he resided at the Olympic Hotel, while immersed in preparations for a terror attack. It was decided to preempt him, but the **Mossad** operatives faced a problem: an explosive device placed in his hotel room large enough to ensure his death might injure innocent guests in neighboring rooms, and on the floor above and below. Accordingly the decision was made to make do with a small bomb, in relatively open space, and this worked. The man got into bed without noticing the bomb—small indeed, but powerful enough to kill him. This occurred on 24 January 1973. *See also* TERRORISM.

ALIYAH BETH. *See* MOSSAD LE'ALIYAH BETH.

ALPER, YOSEF (YOSSI). A former senior **Mossad** official and past director of the **Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** at Tel Aviv University, Alper is one of the most highly respected strategic analysts on the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict. He served as a senior adviser to Israeli prime minister **Ehud Barak** during the Camp David summit (2000). In collaboration with Ghassan Khatib, minister of labor in the Palestinian Authority, he has created an Israeli-Palestinian Internet dialogue at www.bitterlemons.org.

AMAN. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMIAD COMMISSION. A commission of inquiry formed in 1958 by the Israel Defense Forces and the **Mossad** to investigate the manner in which members of the Jewish spy network in Egypt were activated and later betrayed (1954). The commission was created due to contradictions that had emerged in the questioning of Avraham (Avri) Elad. The commission was chaired by Colonel Ariel Amiad and was accordingly known as the Amiad Commission. Its two other members were Lieutenant Colonel Meir Steinberg and Zvi Aharoni of the investigation section of the **Israeli Security Agency**. The commission focused on the suspicion that it was Elad who had betrayed the net-

work to the Egyptians. It was directed to probe into whether there was sufficient evidence to indict Elad for this deed. As a result of the commission's conclusions, it was decided to indict Elad for lesser offenses, for which there was solid evidence: possession of secret documents and contact with the enemy. *See also* COHEN COMMISSION; COMMITTEE OF SEVEN; ULSHAN-DORI COMMISSION.

AMIT, MEIR (1926–). Born in Tiberias, Israel, his family name before its Hebraization was Slutzki. He was educated on the basis of socialist perspectives but acquired a liberal education as well and earned a degree in economics at Columbia University in New York. He became a member of the Kibbutz Alonim in lower Galilee. Amit joined the Haganah and was a company commander in the 1948–1949 War of Independence. After the war he commanded infantry and armor units. As a commander he used the "Follow me" principle, believing that any commanding officer should not remain in the rear but should lead his troops into battle. This practice became the trademark of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF).

Amit became a close friend of the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Moshe Dayan. At the beginning of 1962, Amit was appointed director of **Military Intelligence** (MI), taking over after three predecessors had been unfortunate in their directorship of this intelligence organization: **Isser Be'eri** in 1949, **Binyamin Gibli** in 1954, and **Yehoshafat Harkabi** in 1959 were all forced out of office as directors of MI because of scandals. During his incumbency, Amit tried to reduce the traditional rivalry between the MI and the **Mossad**. Amit and the director of the Mossad, **Isser Harel**, had different skills. Amit was an expert on military strategy, while Harel was a virtuoso on operations.

In March 1963 Amit was asked by Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion to become the director of the Mossad instead of Harel. He assumed this office on 26 March 1963 while still a serving officer in the IDF; Amit was demobilized only in December that year. Senior Mossad officers greatly admired Harel and were not happy with his replacement by Amit. **Shmuel Toledano** and other senior officers, including **Yitzhak Shamir**, organized a protest and proposed collective resignation. Even today Amit and Shamir do not have a good word to say about each other. So many senior Mossad officers

retired after Amit's appointment that he flew to Europe to invite the head of Mossad's political and liaison department in Europe, **Ya'acov Caroz**, to become his deputy; Caroz accepted the offer. Ben-Gurion resigned as prime minister soon after Amit's appointment, and the new prime minister, Levi Eshkol, showed great interest in intelligence work even though he was almost entirely ignorant of the field. Amit hoped that Eshkol, previously the minister of finance, would increase the Mossad budgets.

Amit reorganized the Mossad and incorporated into it **Unit 131**, then MI's unit for cross-border operations. Amit successfully turned the Mossad into a modern intelligence organization and developed its capabilities in the collection of military and political intelligence on the Arab countries. Amit likewise relocated the Mossad premises in Tel Aviv from the Ministry of Defense compound to a modern building in the city center. He changed the method of recruitment to the Mossad. Instead of the British way of recommendations through friends, Amit adopted more systematic methods. He absorbed new personnel from the army, especially from the universities and new immigrant community. This community could supply the Mossad with recruits of European appearance and behavior. The reorganization in the Mossad during Amit's tenure paved the way for more opportunities for women. The structural reorganization has survived, and its effect is still felt in the Mossad. Under Amit the Mossad was primarily oriented to human intelligence (HUMINT), but other collection methods were developed during his incumbency, too. The use of computers was promoted significantly. Amit's time in the Mossad would be remembered mainly for his success in **stealing the MiG-21** flown by its defecting Iraqi pilot, Munir Redfa.

AMIT, YOSEF (1945–). Born in Haifa, Israel, and conscripted to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1963, Amit completed the IDF officers' course with distinction and joined **Unit 504** of **Military Intelligence** (MI), where he was promoted to the rank of major. The function of Unit 504 was to operate Arab agents in Israel's neighboring countries, paying them with drugs obtained from the Israel police. An MI base of this unit on the Lebanese border was placed under the command of Amit, who tried to profiteer by the sale of drugs. In 1978 he was arrested for drug dealing, but prior to his court-martial he was

declared mentally unfit to stand trial. He was hospitalized at the Mizra psychiatric hospital near Acre and discharged from the IDF. Following his release from the hospital three years later, he became a private investigator.

At about that time, at a Haifa bar Amit made the acquaintance of an American naval officer whose ship had docked in the port. After the encounter, the naval officer reported to his superiors that Amit had boasted about his experience in Israeli intelligence. It is not clear whether the officer had been recruiting for U.S. intelligence from the start or whether he simply passed Amit's story on out of patriotic loyalty. In any event, an American plan to make use of Amit was devised. At some point the naval officer told Amit of his intention to retire from the service, settle in West Germany, and start a business. Amit responded by alluding to his own wish to make good money and suggested that they do business together. The two men struck a deal, and Amit traveled to West Germany where he met up with his friend again. He was introduced to some other "friends," who in fact were members of the U.S. intelligence community: Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officers stationed at the U.S. embassy in Bonn. These contacts, all in West Germany, continued for several months.

The Americans instructed Tom Waltz, a Jewish CIA officer stationed at the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, to find out just how much Amit had to offer. Waltz became Amit's direct handler and instructed him on the kind of material the Americans wanted. Above all, they were interested in Israeli troop movements and intentions in Lebanon and the Occupied Territories. Contacts continued almost until Amit's arrest on 24 March 1986 for spying for the United States. Sometime before that date the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and the Israel police began to suspect him because of information they received from a friend of his; Amit had reportedly spoken of links with U.S. intelligence. In custody, Amit cooperated with his interrogators and provided complete details of his relationship with the CIA: meeting places, dates, and names of individuals he had met, including Waltz. He revealed the information he had given to the Americans and admitted receiving several thousand dollars from the CIA.

A search of his apartment by the ISA revealed classified military documents, as well as copies of secret ISA material. Under questioning, Amit stated that he had obtained the material from a childhood

friend who worked in the ISA research department in his capacity as ISA coordinator in Galilee. He had persuaded his friend to give him some of the material on the grounds that it would be of great help to him in some private investigations against Arab citizens. The ISA thereupon arrested the friend, who admitted his guilt, expressed remorse, and denied knowing Amit was using the materials for other purposes; he was dismissed from the ISA, tried, and sentenced to a three-month jail term and a one-year suspended sentence. In April 1987 Amit was convicted on the basis of his confession and sentenced by the Haifa district court to 12 years in jail. His trial was held behind closed doors and remained secret, any mention in the Israeli press being erased by the military censor. A few terse and inaccurate accounts appeared in the non-Israeli press. The Israeli émigré newspaper *Israel Shelanu* in New York reported the arrest of an intelligence officer as if he were spying for Syria, not the United States.

Israeli intelligence also kept secret its knowledge of Waltz's involvement in the affair. The U.S. authorities were not asked to remove him from the embassy in Tel Aviv; about two months after Amit's arrest, Waltz even accompanied an ISA and Israeli Military Intelligence delegation to a meeting in Washington. Before the Israeli delegation's departure, the head of the counterespionage department and foreign liaison in the ISA, **Yosef (Yossi) Ginossar**, was told not to intimate any knowledge of Waltz's activities. The only time the Amit affair was raised between Israel and the United States was at a meeting between the director of the ISA, **Yosef Harmelin**, and the CIA station chief in Tel Aviv. Harmelin presented the facts and asked for an explanation. A few days later the CIA chief informed him that Amit had approached the United States on his own initiative and had been turned away. When the idea was mooted to Amit in prison that he be exchanged for **Jonathan Jay Pollard**, Amit sent a harsh letter to the Israel state attorney's office, stating that he had no desire for any such exchange. He claimed that his confession had been extracted illegally. Amit was paroled in 1993 for good behavior (even though he often violated prison regulations) and because of his psychological condition. For the Americans, Amit was considered a minor spy.

ANGLETON, JAMES JESUS (1917–1987). Born in Arizona, Angleton moved to Milan in 1933 with his father, who sought employment in

Italy. He returned to the United States after several years and studied at Yale University. During his student years, he founded a literary magazine. In 1943 he was recruited by the counterespionage department of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and very soon showed his talents and ability as an intelligence officer. He served with the OSS in Britain and Italy, where he recruited informers and uncovered Nazi and Fascist spy networks. While stationed in Europe he developed extensive contacts with future Israeli intelligence officials. Among his best sources were the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** agents in Italy.

In 1957 Angleton set up a liaison unit to deal with the **Mossad**. This unit was responsible for producing the Middle Eastern intelligence for the American and Israeli intelligence communities. Angleton was aware of the Israeli assets in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and that the Israelis had vast potential as a source of information on the Eastern Bloc during the crucial years of the Cold War. Angleton arranged for Israel's prime minister David Ben-Gurion to meet Walter Bedell Smith, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, in May 1951. Shortly afterward, **Reuven Shiloah** went to Washington to conclude a formal U.S.-Israeli agreement on intelligence cooperation. After Angleton's dismissal in 1975, the liaison unit was dismantled.

ANYA NYA. In the 1960s the **Mossad** gave limited support to the Anya Nya rebels in southern Sudan. The black non-Arab southerners had first risen against the central government in Khartoum in 1955, and then again in later years. The Anya Nya received weapons, communication equipment, and training from the Mossad. *See also* PERIPHERY DOCTRINE.

ARAB PLATOON. A unit of the underground Palmah militia in the period preceding the establishment of the State of Israel. The Arab Platoon, also known as Shahar, consisted of Arabic-speaking and Arab-looking Jews. Its members conducted similar missions to those of the Arab Department of the **Information Service**. *See also* MISTA'ARAVIM.

ARAD, UZI (1947–). In 1966 the Israeli-born Arad was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces and served in the Israel Air Force. From

1975 to 1997 he served in senior positions with the **Mossad** in Israel and abroad. He rose through the organization's ranks and became director of its Research Division. In 1997 Arad was appointed foreign policy adviser to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, holding this post until 1999. In the course of his career, he also gained a Ph.D. from Princeton University. After leaving his adviser's post, he became director of the Institute of Policy and Strategy and professor of government at the Lauder School of Government, Policy, and Diplomacy at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya.

ARAZI-COHEN, SHULA. An Israeli spy who operated in Lebanon from 1948 to the mid-1960s.

ARBEL, YEHUDA. A Hungarian-born Jew, nicknamed "the Gypsy," Arbel was an operative of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). From 1959 to 1962, the years when the **Mossad** was hunting Nazi war criminals, he was seconded to the latter organization, which stationed him in West Germany. After the 1967 **Six-Day War** he was made director of the ISA regional office in Jerusalem with responsibility for the West Bank and East Jerusalem. In the first year of the Israeli occupation, beginning in June 1967, the West Bank was relatively quiet. Still, Arbel estimated that 100–200 Palestinian activists were holed up in the old Casbah of Nablus and he pressed for action. He succeeded in recruiting good Arab informers. Arbel frequently managed ISA affairs in the region from the popular Café Peter in Jerusalem's German Colony neighborhood.

ASHRAF, MARWAN (1944–). Son of a respected Egyptian family, Dr. Ashraf Marwan studied in England and is now a wealthy British businessman, residing in London's costly St. John's Wood neighborhood. He married the third daughter of Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser, Muna, in the 1960s. Ashraf's marriage to Muna brought him close to Nasser's innermost circle. He was given the status and title of roving ambassador and was sent on delicate diplomatic missions around the world. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, media reports mentioned his position as bureau chief for the president and coordinator on behalf of the president with the Egyptian intelligence services.

In 1969 Marwan Ashraf walked into the Israeli Embassy in London and volunteered to furnish information. The offer was turned down. Some time later he again offered his services, and it was decided to recruit him after a thorough inquiry was conducted in order to determine whether he had been sent by enemy intelligence to serve as a double agent and to transmit false information. It is known that a "walk-in" agent who volunteers his services inevitably arouses great suspicion as to his motives, especially if he is well connected to his country's regime and appears to have access to secret information. In Ashraf's case, it emerged that his motives were not purely financial, but also stemmed from a combination of ideological-political and family reasons.

Thus, Ashraf became a **Mossad** agent—in fact, its so-called Top Source and most important asset in Egypt—serving from 1969 until the eve of the **Yom Kippur War** in 1973. The Israeli intelligence community assigned him the codenames Rashash and Chotel. In newspaper articles published in Israel, reporters used the name Bavel, without mentioning his real name due to strict censorship forbidding its publication. The Mossad case officer assigned to handle Ashraf was known only by his first name initial "D." The two developed an especially close relationship. At one point, when D was about to be promoted and replaced, Marwan demanded that D continue to serve as his liaison, thereby obstructing D's chance for a promotion.

In May 1973 Ashraf provided information that, in the guise of a military exercise, Egypt was planning to go to war. On the orders of the then chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General David Elazar, the Israel Defense Force called up reservists, which placed a heavy and unexpected burden on the state budget. The Egyptians did not in fact go to war, leading to a false sense of confidence in the Israeli military and to the intelligence failure half a year later. Prior to the Yom Kippur War, in October 1973 Ashraf again provided the Mossad with early warning of an Egyptian offensive planned against Israel—a factual warning that went unheeded.

In September 2002, the book *Israel's War: A History since 1947*, written by Dr. Ahron Bregman, was published in Great Britain. In the chapter on the Yom Kippur War, Bregman hinted at the identity of the Top Source as being Nasser's son-in-law. Following that revelation, discovering his name became very easy, and the Egyptian media uncovered it in July 2003. Bregman was interviewed by the

Egyptian media and confirmed that Ashraf had indeed been an Israeli agent, but he maintained that he was a double agent who deceived Israel and made it possible for the Egyptians and the Syrians to surprise Israel in the Yom Kippur War.

The Mossad believed that this operative was not a double agent and that he had delivered the goods for which he had been recruited. He did indeed provide the warning that a war was in the making, including the precise date. Others contrasted this information against the so-called **Concept** (*Konseptzia*), supporting the suspicions that Ashraf was a double agent. Even after his name had been exposed as the Israeli Top Source of information, he was seen shaking hands warmly with President Husni Mubarak at the ceremony held in Egypt marking the 31st anniversary of the "Egyptian Victory in the 1973 October War," to which Ashraf had received an official invitation. Following this event, it was noted in the Israeli press that he had customarily driven to meet his Israeli case officers at the Israeli embassy in London in a car bearing the Egyptian embassy's identification plates, which he parked next to the Israeli embassy.

In retrospect, the crisis of May 1973 served as ammunition for the director of **Military Intelligence**, Major General **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**, whom the **Agranat Commission** after the Yom Kippur War held responsible for the intelligence failure. Zeira argued before the commission that the Mossad's agent was, in fact, a double agent who conveyed false information in order to lull Israeli intelligence, like the boy who cried wolf.

ASSESSMENT FAILURES. The Israeli intelligence community has enjoyed many successes in its assessments throughout its history, probably outnumbering the failures, but by the nature of this activity most of them are not known or widely publicized. As for the failures, many of them were significant and costly.

The list includes the 1955 evolving arms deal between Egypt and the Soviet bloc, a move that constituted a fundamental threat to Israeli security. **Military Intelligence** (MI) gave no early warning about this deal.

On 18 February 1960, in what is known as the Rotem Affair, most of the Egyptian army was concentrated on the Negev border without any early intelligence warning. President Gamal Abdel Nasser would

have been able, if he so wished, to order the Egyptian forces to invade Israel and cut off the Negev without the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) being ready for it. MI became aware of this only four days later. Operationally, Israel responded as required to such a gathering threat. It upgraded the military alert and mobilized its reserve units.

In July 1962 Egypt conducted an overt launch of two types of ballistic missiles without MI providing any early warning of the advance of a ballistic threat against Israel.

In the years preceding the **Six-Day War**, MI's single-minded evaluation was that Nasser would not initiate a crisis as long as his army was bogged down in Yemen; in February 1967 MI asserted that a war was not to be expected before 1970. A few months before the start of the crisis leading to the Six-Day War, MI analysts estimated in the *National Intelligence Estimate* of 1966 that the Egyptians would not be able to risk a war in the next five years. This proved wrong, as in May 1967 Nasser mobilized Egyptian troops in the Sinai Desert after requesting that the United Nations force there evacuate the area.

In 1973 MI analysts had the duty of providing an early warning before the outbreak of a war, but they failed to assess accurately when Egypt and Syria would strike Israel. This failure became known as the **Yom Kippur War** surprise (*see* CONCEPT).

Between the end of 1973 and 1975 the MI Research Division issued several early warnings, some of them without foundation, on the intention of Egypt and/or Syria to resume fire. Later it added the evaluation that Egypt was not yet ready for peace, and thus contributed to the lack of readiness of Israel's political and military decision makers for Anwar Sadat's peace initiative in 1977. MI's evaluations were the main basis for the development of the perception of the threat of the "eastern front" and for the enormous resources that Israel invested in constructing means to contend with it.

The Israeli intelligence community failed to predict the outbreak of the Iraqi war against Iran in 1980, nor did it foresee the end of that war in 1988. With the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, when it became clear that this front was collapsing, the "eastern front" threat was replaced by the "strategic balance" threat of Syria, which also was not very real.

During 1981 and 1982, prior to the Peace for Galilee Operation, the **Mossad** and the **Center for Political Research** overestimated the

ability of the Maronite Christians in Lebanon to create a new order there. MI was the only Israeli intelligence organization to recognize this weakness, and it recommended that the policy makers refrain from embroiling Israel militarily in Lebanon (*see* NEVOT, NAHUM). The Israeli intelligence community did not successfully assess the Israeli complications in Lebanon after Peace for Galilee.

MI did not predict the Palestinian uprising in the Occupied Territories, known as the First Intifada, which started in December 1987. At that time no organization in the Israeli intelligence community was responsible for evaluating what was taking place in the territories. MI's responsibility was to provide early warning against any war initiated by neighboring countries (*see* MAGNA CARTA 2).

The Israeli intelligence community did not predict the end of the Cold War and its indirect implications for Israel, despite the existence of a desk in MI devoted to international powers. This kind of assessment was not regarded as part of its purview.

At the end of the 1980s MI failed to identify the buildup of Iraq's nuclear capacity, and in 1990 it gave no early warning of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Israeli intelligence calculated that Iraq would require a few years after its war with Iran to rebuild and reorganize its army before it could launch another war in the region. Accordingly it did not envisage Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. At the request of the United States, in the ensuing Desert Storm operation, Israel decided to refrain from any response to Iraq after suffering Scud missile attacks on its civilian population. Therefore, no one in the Israeli intelligence community predicted a crisis between Israel and the United States after that operation. But relations between President George H. W. Bush and Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** were characterized by a series of misunderstandings between the two men personally, which left both feeling that they had been misled. The Bush administration exerted pressure on Israel with respect to the Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

The Israeli intelligence community did not predict the turning point among the Palestinians when a new policy was adopted by the Palestine National Council. The policy proposed a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of UN Resolution 181, which called for dividing the land of Israel between the two nations. Israeli intelligence did not forecast the Oslo Accords in 1993 between Is-

rael and the Palestinians, and the peace process that followed this declaration.

MI believed that Syria's military movements in the Golan Heights in 1996 were preparations for war. This assessment proved incorrect.

The Israeli intelligence community did not foresee the Palestinian uprising in response to the opening of the Jerusalem tunnels leading to the Western Wall in 1996.

In the 1990s MI's apocalyptic and unequivocal evaluation of the danger inherent in an Israeli pullout from the security zone of Lebanon prevented such a withdrawal. In retrospect, there was clearly no foundation for the grim prospect. The price paid by IDF forces remaining in the security zone was extremely costly in terms of human life. Israeli intelligence overestimated Hizbullah's military reaction to Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, and recommended that Israel retain a military presence in southern Lebanon to defend Israeli civilians living in northern towns.

No one in the Israeli intelligence community predicted the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack on the United States. MI overestimated Iraq's nonconventional weapons capability.

AVENGERS. A small group of soldiers of the Jewish Brigade and Holocaust survivors who called themselves Avengers or *Nokmim*. The members of this group secretly searched for Nazi criminals in Italy, Austria, and Germany after World War II. **Shimon Avidan**, Yisrael Carmi, Chaim Laskov, and Meir Zorea commanded this group. The Avengers operated for about half a year and executed the Nazi criminals they found. The members of the group operated in British uniforms, using British military documentation, equipment, and vehicles.

AVERGIL, HAIM. An Israeli citizen who had immigrated from Morocco, Avergil left his home in Lod, Israel, in summer 1957 and crossed the border to Jordan. There he offered to spy for Jordanian intelligence against Israel in return for their promise to help him return to his parents in Morocco.

Later in 1957 Avergil interrogated Israelis who had inadvertently crossed the border into Jordan, or had done so illegally as an adventurous exploit, a relatively common activity at that time. On their release, some of those interrogated reported to the Israeli authorities that their

questioner was a young man who spoke Hebrew with a Moroccan-French accent and identified himself as Haim Avergil. Avergil was caught and sentenced to four years' imprisonment after his return to Israel in 1958.

AVIDAN, SHIMON (1912–1996). Born Shimon Koch in Germany, Avidan immigrated to Palestine in 1934. After World War II he commanded the German Platoon of the Palmah underground militia, composed of Jewish German speakers. In 1944 he parachuted into Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe, aiming to encourage resistance against the Nazis and gather intelligence. After the war, Avidan commanded the **Avengers** (*Nokmim*). Following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he commanded the Givati Brigade and then served as head of the Operations Section of the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces. He resigned from military service after the War of Independence. *See also* SERENI, ENZO.

AVIGUR, SHAUL (1899–1978). Born Shaul Meyeroff in Russia, he adopted the name Avigur (Hebrew for "father of Gur") after his son Gur was killed in Israel's 1948–1949 War of Independence. Avigur had immigrated to Palestine in 1912. Like most of the early pioneers, he lived in a kibbutz and became a farmer. After his closest friend was killed in a skirmish with a band of Arab marauders, he volunteered to serve in the prestate Haganah militia. Eventually he held a series of senior positions in the Jewish defense establishment and the settlement department of the labor movement, and he organized Jewish settlement during British Mandate in Palestine.

With the establishment of the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**, Avigur engaged in illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine. In June 1940 he submitted a proposal to the Haganah command to establish a secret intelligence service to be known as the **Information Service**.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the first two decades of Israel's independence, Avigur was involved in rescuing Jews from oppressive countries, bringing them to Israel, and dealing with their absorption. In those years Avigur directed **Nativ**, the organization that held secret contacts with groups of Jews in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries behind the Iron Curtain. This was the zenith of a long, rich, multifaceted career, much of it conducted behind the scenes, far from public view.

AVNI, BENNY (?–2005). In the early 1950s Lieutenant Benny Avni served in **Unit 154**, the collection unit of **Military Intelligence** (MI), where he met and became a close friend of **Ya'acov Nimrodi**. On 8 December 1954 Avni accompanied a force of five fighters dispatched to Syria on a spying mission. Three of them were from the paratroops and two from the infantry; among them was **Uri Ilan**. In the early 1960s Avni was appointed to a senior position in Unit 154 and soon after, on loan to the **Mossad**, he was dispatched to Iran. There he and Nimrodi, then the Israeli military attaché in Tehran, promoted the idea of assisting the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq as a means of advancing Israel's **Periphery Doctrine**. Later Avni served the Mossad in Europe.

In 1965 **Meir Amit** gave Avni the task of being the contact between Israel and the Kurdish leader Mustapha Barazani. His command of Arabic and his earlier experience in commanding a special intelligence unit were to his advantage in his obtaining this mission. Contacts between Avni and Barazani took place in Tehran, after Nimrodi convinced the shah that it was also in his interest to strengthen the Kurdish rebels in Iraq.

In 1974 Avni retired from MI and served exclusively in the Mossad in various operations that still cannot be disclosed; it may be stated that he was one of the team that detained **Mordechai Vanunu** after **Cheryl Ben-Tov** lured him to Rome in 1986. In the early 1990s Avni retired from the Mossad and went into private business in the enterprises of his old comrade Nimrodi. Even then he continued to serve the country on missions requiring intelligence experience, and he was involved in efforts for the release of Israeli prisoners of war.

AVNI, ZE'EV (1921–). Born Wolf Goldstein in Riga, Latvia, he grew up in Switzerland. His Jewish parents were devout communists; Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, seeking refuge before the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917, stayed with Goldstein's parents. As a youngster Goldstein became enchanted with Marxism-Leninism. Later he trained as an economist. Prior to Israel's establishment as an independent state in 1948, a Soviet spy recruited him in Switzerland, and Goldstein went to Moscow for an intelligence course with the intention of being planted in the nascent Israeli governing circles. His handlers from the Soviet KGB suggested that he immigrate to Israel and seek employment in Israeli government service; there he would await further orders. For a short period he lived at a kibbutz, but through his professional background he was

able to join the small economics department of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, then urgently in need of more qualified employees. At that time government officials were obliged to Hebraize their names; Goldstein changed his name to its Hebrew equivalent, Ze'ev Avni.

Not being contacted by the KGB, Goldstein sought action himself. He approached the Soviet embassy, contrary to KGB instructions, and offered to spy for the Soviets against Israel. In 1952, Avni, with his background, was soon posted by the Israeli Foreign Ministry to Brussels as economic counselor at the legation there. This was the time of secret negotiations between Israel and West Germany on reparations for Israeli Jews and the Israeli government for the consequences of the Holocaust. Avni reported regularly on these negotiations to the KGB in Moscow.

The **Mossad**, impressed by Avni's European background, contacted him and suggested that he serve also as the organization's case officer in Brussels under his diplomatic cover, especially to collect information on the German scientists rebuilding Egypt's military strength. Later Avni was stationed in Belgrade, where he continued to perform the same two jobs for the Foreign Ministry and the Mossad. His responsibilities in Belgrade involved commercial relations between the two countries. Exploiting the staff shortage at the embassy, Avni volunteered to work overtime deciphering communications. He thereby gained access to the embassy's top secrets. He could pass on to the KGB the secret code for communications between Jerusalem and the embassy in Yugoslavia. The Soviets thus discovered all the top secret details of Israeli intelligence agents' operations at the Israeli embassies in Eastern Europe.

On a visit to Israel, Avni was summoned to meet the director of the Mossad, **Isser Harel**. During the meeting, Avni was unmasked at once as a Soviet mole, Harel simply saying to him, "You are a Soviet spy!" Harel incessantly surveyed the diplomatic lists, and with his exquisitely fine-tuned sense of counterespionage, he discerned that Avni was a Soviet agent, though he had no specific proof. Avni confessed nevertheless, and in April 1956 he was recalled to Tel Aviv where he cooperated with interrogators of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). Avni was sentenced to 15 years in jail. His cellmate was **Avraham (Avri) Elad**, who had betrayed the Jewish espionage network in Egypt in 1954.

Ze'ev Avni's deeds were considered so damaging that no public statement was made about arrest, his trial, or his sentence. He was the only known Soviet spy to have penetrated Mossad.

Avni was released from prison for good behavior after 10 years. He returned for a short period to his childhood home in Switzerland but, with the agreement of the ISA, he returned to Israel, changed his academic profession, and became a psychologist. The ISA's condition was that he not release any details on his past. Avni was even recruited as a civilian psychologist to the Israel Defense Forces, and after the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** he treated soldiers who suffered war trauma. After the restriction on speaking about his past ended, Avni published his espionage story in his book *False Flag: The Soviet Spy Who Penetrated the Israeli Secret Intelligence Service.*

AVRIEL, EHUD (1917–1980). Born Ehud Uberall in Vienna, Avriel was stationed in Turkey after World War II. There he was engaged in the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**, assisting illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine during the British Mandate. He was sent to Czechoslovakia in 1946 to purchase arms. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Avriel was appointed the Israeli consul general to Czechoslovakia and Hungary (1948). In 1950 Avriel was appointed the consul general to Romania. During his career as a diplomat in the Eastern Bloc countries, Avriel identified former Eastern European diplomats who would be good sources of intelligence. From 1949 to 1957 Avriel was a member of the Israeli Knesset. After he resigned from the Knesset, he was appointed the Israeli ambassador to Ghana, Congo, and Liberia (1957–1960). Avriel then served as the deputy general director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1961–1965) and Israeli ambassador to Italy (1965–1968). In 1968 he was elected chairman of the Zionist Executive Committee in Chicago. In 1974 he was appointed Israel's general consul in Chicago, and in 1977 he was appointed the ambassador for special affairs. He served in this position until 1979.

AWEKE, WONDERFERER. *See* SOLOMON OPERATION.

AYALON, AMI (1945–). Israeli-born to a Hungarian Zionist pioneer family, Ayalon was educated in a kibbutz near Tiberias. At age 18 he was drafted into the Israeli Navy, where he subsequently had a long

and brilliant career. Proving his capabilities in numerous naval operations, Ayalon quickly climbed the ladder and became the commander of the Israeli Navy with the rank of major general (equivalent to admiral). In 1996, shortly after retiring from the navy, Ayalon was appointed director of the **Israeli Security Agency**, a post he held until 2000.

On 25 June 2003 Ayalon, together with Palestinian professor Sari Nusseibeh, launched a peace initiative called "the National Census." The initiative's goal is to collect as many signatures of Israelis and Palestinians as possible for the peace plan guidelines of a two-state solution without the right of return for Palestinian refugees. Although Ayalon promotes traditional left-wing ideas, he insists he is not a part of the Israeli left wing and scorns the Israeli peace camp for their alienation and hostility to the Israeli public, especially toward the settlers. Ayalon managed to outrage many left-wing activists when he said that only Ariel Sharon and the Likud party could bring peace.

AYASH, YAHYA (1966–1996). Born near Nablus, Ayash studied electrical engineering at Bir Zeit University near Ramallah and joined Hamas shortly afterward. He is best known in the world as "the Engineer." During a 24-month campaign of terror beginning on 6 April 1994, Ayash killed 130 Israelis and wounded nearly 500. His first car bomb, detonated by a suicide bomber, killed 8 and wounded 30 people. A week later a man destroyed a crowded bus with 50 pounds of explosives strapped to his body. More bombings, all masterminded by the Engineer, followed with dreadful regularity. As the carnage in the streets of Israeli cities mounted, the Engineer became the most wanted man in modern Israeli history, resulting in one of the largest manhunts ever. The search involved the British Secret Service (MI5), the Royal Jordanian Special Forces, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the New York City Police Department. In charge of catching Ayash was the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), the most elite of Israel secret services. On one occasion in the manhunt, Ayash escaped detection by disguising himself as an old Arab woman; on another, he donned the garb of an Orthodox Jewish student. As the search wore on, and the killings continued, Ayash became revered by masses of Palestinians.

Finally, the ISA succeeded in finding an operative who agreed to give Ayash a booby-trapped cell phone. The operative had been told

only that through the cell phone the ISA would be able to monitor Ayash's conversations. In fact, the ISA planted 1.7 ounces of explosives in the device. On 5 January 1996 the cell phone was detonated after Ayash answered a call made on it and his voice was confirmed. Yahya Ayash was killed. More than 100,000 Palestinians attended his funeral. *See also* GILLON, CARMI.

AZZAR, SHMUEL BECOR (1930–1955). An Egyptian-born Jew known by his nickname Sami, Azzar was an engineer, painter, and sculptor among his other talents. His dream was to be an officer in the Israel Defense Forces. In 1951 Azzar was recruited by **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to take charge of establishing the Alexandria cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt, for which he recruited other members. He participated in the sabotage at the U.S. cultural center in Cairo on 23 July 1954 in what became known as the **Bad Business**. Arrested together with all other members of the espionage network, Azzar was tried, sentenced to death, and on 31 January 1955 hanged.

– B –

BAD BUSINESS. A major intelligence debacle also known as the Susannah Operation; the Lavon Affair, after Israeli defense minister **Pinhas Lavon**, in office in 1954; and, in Hebrew, Esek Ha'bish.

Egypt, as the largest of Israel's neighboring Arab countries, was always of primary interest to Israeli intelligence. As a result, **Military Intelligence** (MI) decided to set up in Egypt a network of sleeper agents, who when the time came would be assigned to carry out secret missions.

In May 1951 an Israeli intelligence officer from **Unit 131**, Major **Avraham Dar**, was secretly dispatched to Egypt under the assumed name John Darling and the cover of a British businessman representing a British electronics company. His mission was to recruit Egyptian Jews for an espionage network. Dar succeeded in this task fairly easily because several young Egyptian Jews with Zionist leanings simply volunteered. Dar set up two cells of the espionage network, one in Alexandria and the other in Cairo. For the Cairo cell, Dar recruited **Ceasar Cohen**, **Moshe Marzouk**, **Ya'acov Eli Na'im**, and **Marcelle Victorine Ninio**.

For the Alexandria cell, he recruited **Shmuel Becor Azzar**, **Robert Nissim Dassa**, **Victor Moise Levy**, **Meir Shmuel Meyuhas**, **Philip Hermann Nathanson**, and **Meir Yosef Za'afran**.

Several of them were brought, secretly through Europe, to Israel for military training—despite which they remained amateurs. The instructors of Unit 131 encountered many difficulties training them in such tradecraft as invisible ink, coded radio broadcasts, and surveillance techniques. All of these topics were entirely foreign to them. Nevertheless, the members of the espionage network were sent back to Egypt through Europe. They remained "sleepers" for three years until the agreed codeword was broadcast over the Israeli army radio channel Galei Zahal during the program "*For the Housewife*."

At the end of 1951, **Avraham (Avri) Elad**, a former major in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) who had been reduced to the rank of private for stealing a refrigerator from his unit, contacted Dar and the commander of Unit 131, Lieutenant Colonel **Mordechai (Motke) Ben-Tsur**. Elad was unemployed and divorced, and Ben-Tsur and Dar deemed him the right man for the risky mission of working in enemy territory; he had nothing to lose, they believed, and he would be grateful for the opportunity of rehabilitation.

The heads of Unit 131 decided to disguise Elad as a German named Paul Frank. For a while Elad resided in West Germany to construct his cover story. There he endured a very painful operation to reverse his circumcision so that if he happened to be seen naked in Egypt he could not be identified as a Jew. In December 1953 Elad arrived in Egypt as Paul Frank, a wealthy businessman, and he soon blended into the expanding colony of expatriate Germans in Egypt. Some of them had fled Germany because of their Nazi past. Elad's task was to take over as Israeli commander of the "sleeping" Jewish espionage network. He contacted all its members, each of whom he got to know personally and remembered by name.

After the revolution in Egypt in 1952, the United States exerted pressure on Britain to withdraw from the Suez Canal zone in order to keep Egypt in the pro-Western camp. There was great concern in Israel about the forthcoming British evacuation of the canal zone. The Israeli government regarded the presence of British forces in the canal zone as a check against possible adventurous Egyptian tendencies under Gamal Abdel Nasser.

By the end of June 1954 the British evacuation of the Suez Canal zone appeared imminent. The Israeli defense minister Pinhas Lavon asked **Binyamin Gibli**, the director of MI, to use all of Unit 131's means in Egypt to prevent the evacuation. Lavon, as minister of defense, did not get down to details. Gibli came up with an idea to prevent or delay the British withdrawal by a series of sabotage acts directed primarily against Western embassies and other institutions. The British government would, according to Gibli's thinking, interpret such acts as being perpetrated by the Egyptians and might reconsider or even cancel the evacuation plan.

On 30 June 1954 Gibli instructed Elad to carry out covert sabotage in Egypt. Accordingly, on 2 July 1954 small firebombs were placed in several mailboxes in Alexandria. On 14 July small harmless bombs exploded at the U.S. cultural centers in Cairo and the library of the U.S. Information Center in Alexandria. These events were reported by the local and the international press.

On 23 July 1954 members of the espionage network were to plant bombs in cinemas in Cairo and Alexandria and in the luggage storage depot at Alexandria railway station. This was a symbolic date, the second anniversary of the Egyptian Officers' Revolution. When Philip Nathanson entered the Rio Cinema in Alexandria, his bomb went off prematurely in his pocket. Nathanson was arrested, and in a matter of just a few days, the Egyptian security police arrested the rest of the network's members, who were interrogated. They also arrested **Max Binnet**, who was not directly connected to the group.

Members of MI's inner circle were forced to accept responsibility for recruiting Egyptian Jews for the espionage network. Gibli admitted that MI had recruited and trained them for their duties and had even commissioned several of them as IDF officers. Prime Minister **Moshe Sharett** knew nothing of the operation. Still, Gibli maintained that the order to activate them for the sabotage mission in Egypt was given to him by Minister of Defense Lavon. Gibli's secretary even "retyped" Lavon's alleged memorandum giving Gibli the order. (Some half a century later, in May 2004, for the first time since the affair, Gibli was interviewed by Israeli TV. He stated there that he had received a verbal order by Lavon to carry out the sabotage activities in Egypt. It was impossible to confront his version with Lavon, who was no longer alive.)

Soon after the capture of the espionage network's members in Egypt, Gibli tried to activate a wide-ranging European lobby to ease the Egyptians' treatment of their prisoners, who were being interrogated under torture in despicable conditions in an Egyptian jail. Gibli even tried to obtain their release. Contacts were made with Couve de Murville, a member of the French parliament, and Daniel Maier, a leading British lawyer. Because of the torture, Marcelle Ninio tried to commit suicide but failed.

The trial began on 11 December 1954. The verdicts and sentences, delivered in January 1955, spanned a broad range. Cohen and Na'im were acquitted. Meyuhas and Za'afran were sentenced to 7 years in prison, Ninio and Dassa to 15 years, and Levy and Nathanson to life imprisonment. Shmuel Azzar and Moshe Marzouk were sentenced to death and executed. The Israeli handlers of the network, John Darling (Avraham Dar) and Paul Frank (Avri Elad), were not apprehended but were tried in absentia and given death sentences. Max Binnet, the Israeli spy apprehended with the network but not directly involved in its operations, committed suicide in jail on 21 December 1954.

For many years, Israel denied any connection to the bombings in Egypt. The Israeli army censor prevented the Israeli press from even mentioning the case. As the story was published in the foreign press, Israeli inner circles began to demand the establishment of a commission of inquiry, but the Israeli press was still allowed to mention only the senior officer who was responsible for the "bad business" (the director of MI, Gibli) and the "third man" (Avri Elad). No reference to the affair itself was allowed. Only the Israeli weekly *Ha'Olam Ha'Zeh*, without the censor's permission, published the story with an invented name of the country involved.

Nevertheless, the scandal became known and Lavon was forced to resign. David Ben-Gurion returned from his private life in Kibbutz Sde Boker and replaced Lavon as minister of defense.

In 1960, new evidence became known from a secret trial of Elad in 1958. Today there is apparently much evidence that he had betrayed the Jewish network in Egypt. No one in the Israeli establishment was concerned to question him about this, fearing the opening of a Pandora's box regarding the person who gave the order to activate the Jewish network for its work of sabotage in Egypt. Lavon asked Ben-Gurion to exonerate him. Ben-Gurion refused, not believ-

ing that officers of the Israeli army, his own creation, would be capable of committing such a dishonest act as framing Lavon.

Several commissions were formed in Israel to investigate the Bad Business, but they failed to reach any clear-cut conclusions as to who gave the order and who was responsible for the fiasco. One commission, the **Committee of Seven** formed in 1960, was composed of seven members of the Israeli cabinet. The ministers were tasked to investigate the matter and revealed the forging of a document used by Moshe Dayan and Shimon Peres, then deputy minister of defense, to deflect to Lavon responsibility for the botched 1954 Egyptian operation. A subsequent hearing revealed that Peres, Dayan, and Gibli were involved. The committee's findings were accepted by the government. In the subsequent 1961 elections, Ben-Gurion declared that he would accept office only if Lavon was dismissed from his new position as head of the Histadrut, Israel's labor union federation. Despite attempts to censor the details of the case on account of national security, the Lavon Affair led to a second scandal, and Ben-Gurion's resignation on 16 June 1963, on the allegation that the government's inability to decide the matter was due to political considerations. The Israeli public reacted with outrage when they learned the truth about the conspiracy. Ben-Gurion's attempts to have his own political party, Mapai (the Israeli Workers party), resolve this issue in 1964–1965 likewise went awry, and he was forced to leave the party as well.

The question "Who gave the order?" has been asked again and again by the Israeli public, and it seems that the answer will never be known for sure. Yet a more important question that should be asked is who was responsible for the "Bad Business" even if it was not that person who actually gave the order. The answer to this question is clear-cut: In its role as the supreme commander of IDF, the Israeli government bears the ultimate responsibility for all Military Intelligence failures, including this one. This applies to the minister of defense even if he did not give the specific order.

In the aftermath of the **Sinai Campaign** in October 1956, it seemed reasonable to expect negotiations for the release of the prisoners of the Jewish espionage network. Israel held more than 5,500 Egyptian prisoners of war (POWs) after its conquest of the Sinai Peninsula. Among the most senior of them was General Fuad el Digwi, who had been the presiding judge at the trial of the members

of the Jewish espionage ring in 1954. When he fell into Israeli captivity he was the military governor of the Gaza Strip. As it turned out, all of them were traded for 10 Israeli POWs, including one pilot. The Israeli government did not even ask for the release of the members of the Jewish network from prison; its policy was still to deny any Israeli connection to the sabotage in Egypt in 1954. The top Israeli circles believed that asking for the release of the prisoners might endanger Israel's relations with the United States.

After 14 years in Egyptian jails, Robert Dassa, Victor Levy, Philip Nathanson, and Marcelle Ninio were released from prison, as part of the agreement on the return of 5,237 Egyptians POWs captured in the 1967 **Six-Day War**. The four members of the espionage network were released separately from the Israeli POWs and reached Israel via Europe on a commercial flight. This time, the inclusion of the Jewish spy network prisoners in the POW exchange was settled only at the insistence of the director of the **Mossad**, **Meir Amit**, who threatened to resign if he was not allowed to try to negotiate such a deal with Egypt. Eventually Minister of Defense Dayan granted him a 30-day time limit to conclude the deal; Amit succeeded. For all that, the presence in Israel of the released network members remained an official secret until Prime Minister Golda Meir announced her intention to attend Ninio's wedding in 1971 and to inform the Israeli press.

The most important result of the "Bad Business" was that the Israeli government adopted a rule of never activating Jews in the Diaspora for espionage or any other covert action against their own country's government lest this wreck relations between the Jewish citizens of such countries and their government. In nondemocracies such as the Arab states, activating Jewish spies would in any case have a very limited effect since their access to important governmental secrets, if any, is negligible. The Pollard affair is a different story. **Jonathan Jay Pollard** was not operated by an official intelligence organization in Israel but by an amateur outfit known as the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison**.

On 30 March 2005 Marcelle Ninio, Robert Dassa, and Meir Za-'afran were accorded recognition by Israeli president Moshe Katsav and the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General **Moshe Ya'alon**, for their services to the state and for their years of suffering. The three are the last surviving members of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt. *See also* AMIAD COMMISSION; COHEN COMMISSION; ULSHAN-DORI COMMISSION.

BAER, YISRAEL (1912–1966). Vienna-born Baer was a socialist from an early age and joined Austria's Social Democratic party. He took part in street fighting against the fascists before Adolf Hitler marched into Vienna in 1938. He also volunteered for the international brigade fighting Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War and later studied at the military academy in Vienna. Baer immigrated to Palestine in 1938 and joined the Haganah militia.

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 Baer served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and saw action in the War of Independence. After the war he continued to serve in the IDF and aspired to be appointed deputy chief of the General Staff. When this position was denied him, he retired from the IDF and became a military correspondent and commentator for leading Israeli newspapers. He chaired the Department of Military History at Tel Aviv University. Baer joined the socialist United Workers party (Mapam). After Mapam split into two parties, Mapam and the Israel Communist party (Maki), he shifted toward the center and joined the Israel Workers party (Mapai). By now Baer had become a close friend of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who valued his expertise in military history. Baer presented himself as holding a doctorate in military history. He also became a close friend of Shimon Peres and **Shaul Avigur**. Ben-Gurion gave Baer access to his private diary on the War of Independence and asked him to write the official history of the war. This task gave Baer access to the most highly classified documents on the war.

Suspicions about Baer had first arisen in 1956. The Israeli chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Moshe Dayan, seeing Baer walking about freely at IDF headquarters, jokingly asked one of his assistants what "that spy" was doing there. Suspicions against him intensified in mid-1958 when Baer asked to meet the director of West Germany's Intelligence Service (Bundesnachrichtendienst or BND), Richard Gehlen. In those days it was no simple matter for Israelis to visit Germany; their passports were stamped with a prohibition against visiting Germany and Arab countries. The reason Baer gave for his visit, to meet Gehlen, aroused particular mistrust.

In World War II Gehlen had served in Nazi Germany's military intelligence, focusing on the Eastern Front. After the war he became the director of the BND, still focusing on the Eastern Bloc until at least the late 1950s. Gehlen had built a reputation as an outstanding spymaster. The Soviet KGB wanted to know what Gehlen knew about the Eastern

Bloc and what precisely he was focusing on. Later it transpired that Baer had been asked by his KGB handlers to meet Gehlen and thereby penetrate the secrets of the BND. The two met in May 1960 despite repeated refusals by **Isser Harel** to allow Baer to meet Gehlen.

Harel was convinced that only a KGB agent would make such an effort to meet the legendary West German spymaster. In the fall of 1960 Harel summoned Baer to his office and demanded answers as to why he had met Gehlen. Harel then updated Ben-Gurion on Baer and expressed his deep suspicions about him, but Ben-Gurion still ignored them. Harel did not leave the matter alone and continued to update the prime minister about Baer, who was under **Israeli Security Agency** surveillance. Harel learned that Baer had gathered military information that was of no concern to him and visited Communist countries on his trips to Europe; he was friendly with Russian diplomats serving in Israel, meeting them frequently. On the night of 28 March 1961 Baer left his Tel Aviv apartment for a small café near his home, carrying a small briefcase. About five minutes after he sat down, another man walked in, and few minutes later yet another, to whom Baer handed the briefcase. This last was a KGB case officer, Victor Sokolow, who served at the Soviet embassy in Tel Aviv under diplomatic immunity. All the while Baer was under surveillance, so he was caught red-handed. The briefcase contained a file full of documents from Ben-Gurion's personal diary and a confidential blueprint of plans from a major Israeli construction corporation, Solel Boneh, for a NATO airfield in Turkey.

Baer's trial began in June 1961 behind closed doors. At the end of March 1962 he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. In December 1962 the Supreme Court increased the term to 15 years. Baer died in prison.

Baer's autobiography evinces many similarities in the way he and British spy Kim Philby had been recruited to the KGB. Both were recruited during the Spanish Civil War as sleeper agents and were activated later. Baer and Philby succeeded in penetrating the security establishments of their own countries. Both became valuable assets for the KGB. Baer had been activated in 1956 and instructed to penetrate the BND by his Soviet case officer, who served in Tel Aviv as a TASS news agency correspondent.

BAKHTIAR, TAIMOUR. General Taimour Bakhtiar was the founder and first director of the Iranian National Organization for Intelligence and Security (Sazeman-i Ettelaat va Amniyat-i Keshvar), known by its

Farsi acronym SAVAK. During his tenure as director of SAVAK beginning in 1957, relations between Israel and Iran improved significantly.

In September 1957, Bakhtiar met secretly in Paris with **Mossad** case officer **Ya'acov Caroz**. Caroz served in France under the cover of political councilor in the Israeli embassy. This meeting gave a vital boost to relations between the two countries in general and between the two intelligence communities in particular. **Isser Harel** and Prime Minister Golda Meir extended these relations; Harel and Bakhtiar had a close personal friendship.

The main Israeli goal in these ties with Iran was to encourage pro-Israeli and anti-Arab views among Iranian government officials. Relations with Iran were just one part of the comprehensive **Periphery Doctrine**. Bakhtiar also maintained contact with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Bakhtiar was dismissed in 1961, allegedly for organizing a coup; he was assassinated in 1970 under mysterious circumstances, probably on the shah's direct order. However, the unique relations between the Mossad and SAVAK remained in force until the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979.

BARAK, EHUD (1942–). Born in Kibbutz Mishmar Hasharon, Israel, Barak earned his bachelor's degree in physics and mathematics from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1976 and his master's degree in engineering-economic systems in 1978 from Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.

In 1959 Barak was recruited into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). He served as a soldier and commander of the elite unit **Sayeret Matkal** and in various other command positions. During the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Barak served as a reconnaissance group commander, and in the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** he commanded a tank battalion in the southern front in Sinai. In January 1982, Barak was appointed head of the IDF Planning Directorate and was promoted to major general. During the 1982 Peace for Galilee Operation, he served as deputy commander of the Israeli force in Lebanon.

In April 1983, Barak was appointed director of **Military Intelligence** (MI) in the IDF. In January 1986, he was appointed head of Central Command, and in May 1987 he became deputy chief of the General Staff. In April 1991 Barak became the 14th chief of the General Staff of the IDF and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general.

During his military career, Ehud Barak took part in the most daring clandestine operations of Sayeret Matkal. In 1972, he commanded the rescue operation of the passengers of a Sabena aircraft hijacked by Palestinian terrorists. In April 1973 he commanded **Spring of Youth Operation** in Beirut. Barak commanded the assassination operation against **Abu Jihad** in his headquarters in Tunis in 1988. In May 1994, following the Gaza-Jericho agreement between the Palestinians, Lieutenant General Barak oversaw the IDF's redeployment in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. Barak had a key role in finalizing the peace treaty with Jordan, signed in 1994. In that year he also met his Syrian counterpart as part of the Syrian-Israeli negotiations. Barak was awarded the "Distinguished Service Medal" and four other citations for courage and operational excellence.

In politics, Barak served as minister of the interior (July–November 1995) and minister of foreign affairs (November 1995–June 1996). He was elected to the Knesset in 1996, where he served as a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. In 1996 Barak became the leader of the Labor party. During his term as the minister of foreign affairs, Barak preferred the MI assessments to those of the **Center for Political Research** (CPR) in his own ministry.

Ehud Barak was elected prime minister of Israel on 17 May 1999. As prime minister, Barak tried to read all the assessments of the various Israeli intelligence agencies. He completed his term on 7 March 2001 after his loss to Ariel Sharon in special election for prime minister in February.

BAR-LAVI, ZE'EV. Known by his nickname Biber. Born in Berlin, Bar-Lavi immigrated to Palestine, and he joined the Palmah at the age of 16. Bar-Lavi started his intelligence career by preparing maps. In May 1949 he joined Branch 2 (the Jordanian desk) of **Military Intelligence** (MI). In the following years he rose to become the head of Branch 3. On the eve of the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Bar-Lavi wrongly estimated that King Hussein of Jordan would keep out of the conflagration. Despite this mistaken assessment, Bar-Lavi was known by his colleagues and commanders in MI as the "man of Amman" (Jordan), a city he never visited. He knew almost everything about the Hashemite kingdom in general and the Arab Legion in particular. At MI briefings, Bar-Lavi presented King Hussein's thinking in ways that usually proved accu-

rate. On the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Bar-Lavi assessed correctly that King Hussein would stay out of it.

A well-known story is told about Bar-Lavi that reflects his fame as an intelligence expert on Jordan. A few days before the start of the **Sinai Campaign** in 1956, his colleagues saw him wandering miserably about the corridors of Branch 3. "What's wrong?" they asked him. "Well," he said, "for a few months now, the Jordanians have been searching high and low for a case of ammunition they lost." "So what's the problem?" they insisted. "The problem," he replied, "is that I know where the darn thing is but I'm not allowed to tell them."

In 1974, Bar-Lavi left MI and moved to the Computer Department of the Israel Defense Force.

BARKAN, ZE'EV WILLIAM. *See* NEW ZEALAND PASSPORTS.

BARNETT, RONALD. A British Jew, Ronnie Barnett worked for the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**, where his codename was "Boaz." Barnett, together with **Reuven Shiloah**, was asked by the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth in May 1951 to meet a representative of the Iraqi minister of the interior in London and in Paris. They were then to deliver to the minister bribes in the amount of £10,000 for releasing the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth's agents **Mordechai Ben-Porat** and Yehuda Tajjar, who had been arrested by Iraqi authorities for their activities in the illegal immigration of the Iraqi Jews to Israel.

BAR-SIMANTOV, YA'ACOV (?–1982). A **Mossad** case officer, Bar-Simantov was shot to death on 3 April 1982 outside his home in Paris by a group of Palestinian terrorists called the Lebanese Armed Revolution. In response, the Israeli government led by Prime Minister Menachem Begin considered launching the Pines Operation against Palestinian terrorist bases in Lebanon. However, this operation was not executed and instead, in June 1982, Israel initiated the Peace for Galilee Operation.

BAR-TOV, DAVID. Bar-Tov replaced **Yehuda Lapidot** as director of **Nativ** in 1986 and was replaced in 1992 by **Ya'acov Kedmi**. He served as director of Nativ when the mass Jewish immigration began from the Soviet Union.

BARUCH, SHMUEL. A Jerusalem-born businessman who turned traitor to Israel. He was also known by his nickname, Sami. In September 1963 Baruch approached the Egyptian embassy in Zurich because he needed money for a failing textile factory he had set up in Kiryat Gat in southern Israel. Egyptian intelligence encouraged him to join Israeli political circles as a cover story, enabling him to obtain intelligence information. In the summer of 1964 Baruch became the treasurer of a newly established Israeli movement, Yisrael Ha'Tseira (Young Israel). It was established to promote the interests of Sephardic Jews and to run in the 1965 Knesset elections. Baruch planned to use his factory in Kiryat Gat to collect information especially about the surrounding area. The south of Israel aroused Egyptian interest in particular, being considered of strategic importance because of the large number of military bases of the Israel Defense Forces there.

Baruch failed in his espionage mission. He was not aware that Egyptian embassies and their intelligence personnel in neutral countries were routinely monitored by Israeli intelligence. The **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) was alert to his contacts with Egyptian intelligence; he himself was under ISA surveillance on a daily basis. In January 1965 Baruch was arrested and later sentenced to 18 years in prison.

BAVEL. *See* ASHRAF, MARWAN.

BE'ERI, ISSER (1901–1958). Born Isser Bierenzweig in Poland, the tall Be'eri was known by his Hebrew nickname Isser Ha'Gadol ("Big Isser"), to distinguish him from his colleague in intelligence, the much shorter **Isser Harel**—Isser Ha'Katan (Little Isser)—who directed the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA).

From 1938, Be'eri was a member of the Haganah (the underground militia in Palestine) and belonged to the **Information Service** (Shai), which he later directed. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 he directed **Military Intelligence** (MI) in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) until 1949. Be'eri was known as a fanatic on fighting corruption. For him, Israel could, should, and would be a perfect society.

In the afternoon hours of 30 June 1948, a few hours after Be'eri had taken charge of MI, he held a field court-martial that hurriedly convicted IDF captain Meir Tobianski of treason and sentenced him

to death, with the sentence executed immediately (*see* TOBIANSKI AFFAIR). The same day, Be'eri attempted to fabricate evidence against Abba Hushi, the mayor of Haifa, and against Yehuda Amster, whom he suspected of passing information to British and Arab officers before Israeli statehood. Amster was a taxi owner in Haifa and mayor Hushi's right-hand man. He was detained by Be'eri, charged with espionage, and tortured. His nerve-wracking ordeal lasted two and a half months in a secret detention camp.

Later, in the summer of 1948, Be'eri ordered the execution, without any legal process, of Ali Qassem, an Arab informer who was suspected of betraying his Jewish handlers. Be'eri maintained that he was a double agent. The order was carried out.

Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, decided to have Be'eri tried for this act. The court ruled that Be'eri be removed from Military Intelligence without additional penalties, and his military service ended shortly afterward. Be'eri was brought to justice again for his responsibility in the execution of Tobianski and was found guilty of conducting a field court-martial without authority. Be'eri received merely a token sentence of one day in prison, from sunrise to sunset. A few days later he was granted amnesty by the president of the state. Even after his conviction, Be'eri continued to maintain that Tobianski was a spy and a traitor. Because of technical legalities, Be'eri's detention and torture of Amster did not reach the court, even though Ben-Gurion knew about it and regarded it as Be'eri's gravest crime.

Be'eri is remembered for his proposal to Ben-Gurion, after the establishment of the State of Israel, to split the Shai into Military Intelligence and internal security intelligence dealing with counterintelligence.

BEGIN-SADAT (BESA) CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES. Founded in 1991 at Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan. Thomas O. Hecht, a wealthy Canadian businessman and former professor of political science, was the major financial contributor to the establishment of the BESA Center. The Center is named in memory of Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat, whose groundbreaking efforts to broker peace agreements paved the way for future conflict resolution in the Middle East. It conducts research on regional and national security issues; terrorism; weapons of mass destruction; Israeli relations with the United States

and other friendly countries; Middle East water resources; and Middle East arms control. The Center also provides consultation for Israeli policy makers on matters of strategy, security, and peace in the Middle East and sponsors conferences and symposia for international and local audiences. This academic center may be considered the academic equivalent to the **Military Intelligence** (MI) unit of the Israel Defense Forces, though its analyses are based on unclassified sources. The BESA Center is directed by Professor Efraim Inbar. *See also* INTERNATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM (ICT); JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES (JCSS); MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

BELKIND, NAAMAN (1889–1917). Born in Palestine, Belkind joined the **NILI** espionage group together with his cousin **Avshalom Feinberg** and his brother Eytan Belkind. In September 1917, Naaman Belkind embarked on a trip to Egypt in order to learn what he could about Feinberg's death earlier that year. He was captured by Bedouin in Sinai and turned over to the Turks, who took him to Damascus. There Belkind was convicted of spying and was hanged on 16 December 1917, along with NILI leader **Yosef Lishansky**.

BEN-BARKA AFFAIR. Mehdi Ben-Barka, former tutor of King Hassan and ex-president of the Moroccan National Consultative Assembly, became an opponent of the Moroccan government from the mid-1950s, when he founded the Moroccan Socialist party (USFP). He was involved in plots to topple the Moroccan monarchy and was twice sentenced to death by the Moroccan courts in absentia. He lived in exile in Geneva, and King Hassan apparently decided to have the death sentence carried out wherever Ben-Barka lived. The king assigned the task to General Muhammad Oufkir, his interior minister, who was responsible for domestic security. General Oufkir, a close friend of his counterpart **Meir Amit**, director of the **Mossad**, approached Amit for assistance in this matter. Amit, concerned with the security of Jews worldwide, including Morocco, feared that refusing to assist the Moroccan government might adversely affect the Jewish community there.

Amit and Oufkir met in France in the early fall of 1965 and reached an agreement whereby Mossad agents would not take part in

Ben-Barka's slaying but would help to set the trap for him. On 29 October 1965 a Mossad agent persuaded Ben-Barka to leave Geneva for a meeting with a "film producer" in Paris. Just outside a brasserie on the Seine's Left Bank, three French security officers, cooperating with the Moroccans, arrested Ben-Barka. On the evening of 30 October 1965 Ben-Barka was shot to death by Oufkir or one of his Moroccan agents. An investigation indicated that Ben-Barka's abductors acted with the complicity, if not the encouragement, of top officials of the French Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (SDECE).

BEN-DAVID, MOSHE (1952–). A former senior **Mossad** officer, known by his nickname Mishka. In his national service in the Israel Defense Forces, Ben-David served in signals intelligence with **Unit 8200** at the Mount Hermon position. After demobilization, he studied literature and philosophy, eventually earning a Ph.D. Ben-David then joined the Mossad's Kidon subunit and was engaged in clandestine activities, collecting information and as a case officer of Mossad operatives on secret missions to Arab countries.

In September 1997 Ben-David was based in the Jordanian capital Amman. During the **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco**, he was in possession of an antidote to the toxin with which colleagues from his unit tried to kill Sheikh Khaled Mash'al, in case one of his colleagues was accidentally poisoned by the toxin. Following the failed attempt to kill Mash'al and the capture of two of his colleagues by the Jordanian police, Israel was required to deliver the antidote forthwith. After hasty contact between Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and King Hussein of Jordan, the Mossad director, **Danny Yatom**, flew to Jordan in an attempt to appease the king. It was agreed that a Jordanian officer would collect the antidote from Ben-David in the lobby of the latter's Amman hotel. Ben-David stood beside the Jordanian doctor when she injected the antidote into Mash'al. Ben-David, who was in Jordan under an assumed name, planned to return to Israel on a commercial flight, but following the fiasco it was decided that he would return in Yatom's personal airplane.

Soon after this incident, Ben-David resigned from the Mossad and became a writer. In an interview he maintained that clandestine assassination thereafter constituted a minor part of the Mossad's activities.

BENDMAN, YONAH. Up to the outbreak of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Lieutenant Colonel Bendman served as head of **Branch 6** in the Research Division of **Military Intelligence** (MI), responsible for Egypt, Sudan, and North Africa. Bendman was considered an experienced analyst, having served previously as head of the military section in Branch 6. His reputation had developed following his rejection in April and May 1973 of early warnings that the Egyptian army maneuvers then planned would develop into war; his analysis on that occasion proved correct. Bendman based his assessments on the **Concept**, according to which Egypt was not ready for war. In the 24 hours before the Yom Kippur War was launched, he still clung to the Concept and was reluctant to accept the recommendation of his colleagues in MI to write on the daily information summary sheet that the probability of war was high. Instead, on his own initiative, he wrote that there was a **low probability** of war. In 1974 the **Agranat Commission** recommended that Bendman should not continue to work on intelligence assessments. In fact, he had already been moved from Branch 6 on 8 October 1973, in the early days of the war. He retired from the Israel Defense Forces in 1974.

BEN-ELISSAR, ELIYAHU (1932–2000). The Polish-born Ben-Elissar was a member of the Israeli intelligence community. He had studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and obtained a doctorate in the University of Geneva. Ben-Elissar spoke fluent French and could pass easily as a Frenchman or a Belgian. In 1958 he was stationed in Paris and served as case officer for the **Mossad** in Europe. He retired from the Mossad in 1965. Ben-Elissar was appointed as the first Israeli ambassador to Egypt on 5 January 1980 after Israel's peace treaty with Egypt was concluded in 1979. Subsequently, Eliyahu Ben-Elishar was a member of the Knesset for many years and chaired its Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee. He returned to diplomatic service as Israel's ambassador to the United States (1996–1998) and France (1998–2000). Ben-Elissar was found dead, from natural causes, in a hotel room in Paris in September 2000.

BEN-GAL, YOSEF. A former **Mossad** agent, Ben-Gal was involved in the **Damocles Operation**. He was arrested on 15 March 1963 by the Swiss police for threatening **Heide Görke**, the daughter of one of the

German scientists working in Egypt on the development of missiles. *See also* JOKLIK, OTTO.

BEN-NATAN, ASHER (1921–). Member of the Israeli intelligence community and diplomat. Ben-Natan was born Arthur Piernikartz in Vienna, where he attended a Hebrew high school and was a member of the Young Maccabi Zionist movement. Immediately following the Anschluss (Nazi Germany's annexation of Austria) in March 1938, Ben-Natan immigrated to Palestine.

When reports of the extermination of European Jewry in World War II first began to circulate, Ben-Natan joined the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**. Initially he served in minor roles in the agency's Investigations Department. When World War II ended he was sent to Austria to promote the organization's work in illegal immigration to Palestine. Until early 1946 Ben-Natan was engaged in smuggling Jews to Palestine with the assistance of American army officers. He encountered no major obstacles and successfully moved tens of thousands of refugees. At that time, Ben-Natan participated in major Zionist events, for example, the 22nd Zionist Congress in 1946 in Basel, which debated the issue of continuing the struggle against the British in Palestine. There he met Shimon Peres, who was to become Ben-Natan's patron over a period of many years.

In the spring of 1947 Ben-Natan ended his role with the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth. He returned to Palestine and, at Peres's recommendation, joined the bureau of David Ben-Gurion, later Israel's first prime minister. Ben-Natan was assigned the task of liaison between Ben-Gurion and the Israeli Workers party (Mapai) on security matters. In 1948 Ben-Natan was appointed head of the Operations Department of the new Foreign Ministry's problematic espionage section, which was headed by another elusive figure, **Boris Guriel**.

Ben-Natan was involved in the famous **Spies' Revolt**, which was connected with personnel and structural changes in Israel's secret services. The changes were principally designed to strengthen the position of Mapai "activists," Ben-Gurion, the Ministry of Defense, and the Israel Defense Forces—and to weaken the position of the foreign minister and the Foreign Ministry. The changes were effected through the elimination of the Political Department, the removal of Guriel and **Reuven Shiloah** from their posts, and the appointment

of one of Ben-Gurion's close associates, **Isser Harel**, to chair the **Committee of Directors of the Intelligence Services** in late 1952.

Since his patrons were unable to supply him with a new job in the defense establishment, Ben-Natan, on leaving the Foreign Ministry, was appointed chief executive officer of **Incoda**, a dummy Israeli government corporation set up in Eritrea, officially to supply meat to Israel. In practice Incoda was engaged in recruiting spies to be dispatched to Arab countries. But Peres did not forget his protégé, and in 1956, as director-general of the Defense Ministry, he appointed Ben-Natan to represent the ministry and head its acquisitions mission in France. In this capacity, Ben-Natan participated in talks on cooperation between France, Great Britain, and Israel prior to the **Sinai Campaign** of 1956. But Ben-Natan was subsequently named head of the Israeli Defense Ministry's mission in Europe and thus played a part in the acquisition of the nuclear reactor in Dimona.

In 1959 Peres, who had just become deputy minister of defense, appointed Ben-Natan director-general of the ministry. For six years Ben-Natan served Peres with absolute loyalty, carrying out his policies to the letter; he was involved in various major affairs, such as the purchase of Mirage fighter jets from France, the acquisition of weapons from West Germany, the **Damocles Operation** against the German scientists in Egypt and the failed attempt to assassinate them, and the construction of missiles in Israel.

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany, Ben-Natan was appointed Israel's first ambassador to Bonn. While serving in that post, he conducted talks on West German economic aid, which was obtained in 1966.

In light of his previous experience as head of the Defense Ministry's mission to France, Ben-Natan was appointed Israel's ambassador to Paris in 1970. On completing his stint in Paris in 1975, he returned to the Defense Ministry, where he served as an adviser to Peres, who was by then minister of defense. Ben-Natan was involved, albeit without much effectiveness, in formulating policies on lands belonging to Israeli Arabs, the rehabilitation of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, contacts with the Christians in Lebanon, and the **Yehonathan Operation** in Entebbe. Ben-Natan ran unsuccessfully as the Labor party candidate in Tel Aviv–Jaffa's mayoralty race in 1977.

BEN-PORAT, MORDECHAI (1923–). Born in Iraq, Ben-Porat immigrated to Palestine. He served in the Israel Defense Forces during the 1948–1949 War of Independence. After he retired from military service, Ben-Porat joined the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** and was sent back to Iraq in the fall of 1949 to arrange the illegal immigration of the Jewish community there to Israel. From 1949 to 1951, he and Yehuda Tajjar organized the smuggling of the Iraqi Jews in **Ezra and Nehemiah Operation** from Iraq to Israel via Iran. Through these operations, Ben-Porat succeeded in bringing 120,400 Jews to Israel. He was arrested four times in Iraq for his efforts, which included mass transport by planes, trains, and automobiles and even on foot. He often dressed in Bedouin clothing to find safe passage. He once lost two teeth in a beating by Iraqi police.

BEN-PORAT, YOEL (1931–). Born in Poland, Ben-Porat immigrated to Palestine in 1937. He was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1950 and served in variety of tasks in **Military Intelligence** (MI). In 1972 Ben-Porat was appointed commander of the Central Warning Unit (Unit 848) and was promoted to colonel. On the night of 30 September/1 October 1973, some days before the outbreak of the **Yom Kippur War**, **Marwan Ashraf** informed his **Mossad** case officer that the Egyptian maneuvers expected to start on 1 October would evolve into a war. Ben-Porat took this warning most seriously and upgraded the alert in his unit. His assessment ran counter to that of the Research Division, however, which dismissed any likelihood of a war being launched by Egypt on 1 October. Obeying orders from his MI commanders, he downgraded the alert in his unit. On the evening of 4 October, following the information collected by Unit 848 that the Soviet Union intended to evacuate forthwith the families of the Soviet advisers in Egypt and in Syria simultaneously, Ben-Porat again upgraded the alert in his unit.

Ben-Porat's command of Unit 848 ended in mid-1976 and he was appointed as IDF spokesman. Thereafter Unit 848 was renamed **Unit 8200**. His next posts in the IDF were as an instructor at the IDF National Security College and then as military attaché at the Israeli embassy in Washington; with the latter position, he was promoted to brigadier general. In 1984 the director of MI, Major General **Ehud Barak**, tasked Ben-Porat to analyze the failure of the Yom Kippur

early warning in the IDF history section. He retired from active service in 1985.

BEN-TOV, CHERYL (1960–). Born Cheryl Hanin in the United States, she grew up in a Jewish family in Pennsylvania and Orlando, Florida. She was the **Mossad** agent who became well known in 1986 when, under her assumed name Cindy, she persuaded **Mordechai Vanunu** to go with her to Rome, where he was captured, drugged, and transported to Israel.

Hanin had spent a semester in Israel during high school, and upon her graduation in 1978, she immigrated to Israel and was inducted into the Israel Defense Forces. In 1985 she married Ofer Ben-Tov, an Israeli intelligence analyst officer in **Military Intelligence**. The wedding was attended by many in the Israeli intelligence community, who probably arranged Cheryl's recruitment to the Mossad some time before 1986. After her training, Ben-Tov became a *bath levayah*, the Hebrew term used by the Mossad for a female assistant agent, a lower rank than case officer.

Vanunu, immediately upon his release from prison in April 2004, said that he did not believe "Cindy" was an agent of the Mossad but of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation or Central Intelligence Agency. According to Vanunu, he spent a week with her before he was captured.

BEN-TSUR, MORDECHAI (MOTKE). Lieutenant Colonel Ben-Tsur was the commander of **Unit 131** in the **Military Intelligence** of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In 1951 Ben-Tsur began to set up an espionage network in Egypt consisting of local Jews. For this purpose he dispatched Major **Avraham Dar** to Egypt posing under the name of John Darling as a British businessman. Ben-Tsur was dismissed from active duty in the IDF in October 1954 following the **Bad Business**.

BEN-YAIR, SHAALTIEL (1922–). Born to Jewish settlers in Metullah, on the Israel-Lebanon border, he learned Arabic fluently as a child and went on to become one of the youngest members of the underground Stern Group militia in mandatory Palestine. He was sent

by the group on secret missions to the Palestinian Arab community, traveling under cover as an Arab cattle merchant. Fearing for his safety, his father sent him to study in a naval school in France, where he learned French. After returning to Palestine, he attended a Scottish school and acquired a Scottish accent as well.

In 1951 Ben-Yair was a suspect in an assassination attempt aimed at the Israeli minister of transportation, Zvi Pinkas, in protest against the introduction of restrictions on public transport during the Sabbath. He was also a close friend of **Yitzhak Shamir** from the Stern Group, and he followed Shamir into the **Mossad** in 1955.

Ben-Yair operated on behalf of the Mossad in Egypt, posing as a Belgian cattle expert under the assumed name Francois Renancoeur. Rising to the level of Egypt's government consultant on livestock, Shaaltiel Ben-Yair thus became one of Israel's most successful agents in Egypt. During the first half of the 1960s, he was able to obtain valuable information about military bases and sensitive installations in Egypt, as well as to map Egyptian airfields. This contributed greatly to the success of the 1967 **Six-Day War**, when the Israel Air Force achieved victory in less than six hours by eliminating nearly all of the Arab air forces on the ground during the initial air attack on 5 June 1967. By the time the Six-Day War broke out, however, Ben-Yair was already living far away from Israel and Middle East conflicts. After retiring from the Mossad in 1962, he had returned to Israel, but had found it too difficult to get adjusted to the normal life of an ordinary citizen. Consequently, he chose to leave the country and settle in Canada.

BILU. The Bilu movement was founded in Kharkov, Russia, in 1882 by Jewish students reacting to the pogroms taking place in Russia at the time. Their goal was to resettle Palestine (the Land of Israel). The first 14 members of Bilu arrived in Palestine in July 1882. The initial Bilu members settled in Mikve Israel and Rishon L'Tzion as farmhands. In 1884, some members of Bilu formed the settlement of Gedera, while others learned a trade and settled in Jerusalem. The name Bilu was adopted by the intelligence organization **Nativ** soon after its establishment. It is the Hebrew acronym for a line from the book of Isaiah "*Bet Ya'akov L'chu V'Nelcha*" ("O House of Jacob, come ye and let us go").

BINNET, MAX (1917–1954). Born in Hungary to an Orthodox Jewish family, he is known also by his Hebrew name Meir Binnet. In 1935 Binnet with his parents illegally immigrated to Palestine. He began life in Palestine as a stevedore in the Tel Aviv port. After that, he worked in mechanics and gained expertise in communication mechanics, then joined the **Information Service** of the Haganah militia. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he joined **Military Intelligence** (MI) and was dispatched on espionage missions in many Arab countries. He could speak Hebrew, German, English, French, Italian, and Farsi and, being an expert on communication techniques, Binnet became the ideal man for espionage. He operated under cover as a German businessman. In Iraq, where he had had some notable spying successes, Binnet was sentenced to death in absentia. Between missions, he married Jean, a new immigrant to Israel from South Africa.

In 1951 Binnet joined **Unit 131** and was assigned to a mission in Egypt. In 1952, now promoted to major, Binnet was sent to West Germany to build his cover story. Eventually he entered Egypt as if representing a West German artificial limb company. This cover story enabled Binnet to get close to Egyptian war-injured and their commanders. They appreciated his way of never failing to ask after the injured. His mission was to penetrate high echelons of the Egyptian government. He succeeded in visiting Egypt's military bases and became a close friend of General Muhammad Nagib.

Binnet's success in enlarging his circle of friends resulted in the directors of Ford Motors in Cairo offering him a managerial job in the company. Initially he did not bring his family (wife and little daughter) to Egypt. His wife was not even supposed to know that he was stationed in that country. He would write her letters in double envelopes; the inner one was addressed to his wife in Israel, the outer one was sent to London to a secret contact address for the Israeli embassy. There British stamps were put on the inner envelope, which was then mailed to his wife in Israel. Once a serious breach of security happened when the Egyptian stamps were inadvertently not removed from the envelope, and his wife thus found out the kind of job her husband was engaged in. Because the secret was out, she and their daughter were allowed to join him in Egypt. Under the cover of family tours, Max Binnet succeeded in visiting many strategic Egyptian points.

Binnet was a prudent intelligence officer, who ordinarily would probably never have been caught. But the wrong decision was made by someone in Unit 131. On one of his visits to Israel, Binnet was asked to convey money to a Jewish espionage network in Egypt, which was entirely separate and in no way related to Binnet's mission. A basic rule in espionage—not to connect two different networks—had been broken. The result was that, after the **Bad Business** in 1954 led to the arrest of members of the Jewish espionage network, this led to the arrest of Binnet as well. In prison, suffering interrogation under torture, Max Binnet committed suicide on 21 December 1954.

A German lawyer working secretly for MI succeeded in obtaining Egyptian approval to remove his body from Egypt. Binnet was buried in Rome as a Christian German. So as not to expose the Israeli connection to the Jewish espionage network in Egypt, Israel did not admit that Binnet was an Israeli Jew. The Egyptian authorities believed he was a Christian German working for Israel. Five years later his remains were taken secretly to Israel for a second funeral. He was buried secretly on a rain-drenched day in the Mount Herzl military cemetery in Jerusalem. Until the 1979 peace treaty with Egypt, Max Binnet's name was not even inscribed on his gravestone. Publishing his name was strictly forbidden by the Israel censor. He was promoted posthumously to lieutenant colonel.

BINYAMINI, CHAIM (1938–). Israeli-born, Binyamini was conscripted to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1957 and served in the paratroop brigade. In the 1967 **Six-Day War** he served as deputy commander of a paratroop battalion. During the **War of Attrition**, he commanded a paratroop battalion. Binyamini then served in various command positions and, after the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, joined **Military Intelligence**. In 1977 he was appointed chief intelligence officer, a position he held until 1979 when he took sabbatical leave to study in the United States; he then retired from the IDF.

BITTON, JACQUES. "Jacques Bitton"—a very common Moroccan-Jewish name—was the cover name assigned by Egyptian intelligence to one of its agents planted in Israel for espionage missions. He was considered one of the best Egyptian spies. In the 1960s this man "immigrated" to Israel and opened a travel agency there (Egyptian intelligence

has frequently supported its spies by opening a "travel agency," a preferred way to build cover stories). After spying in Israel for the Egyptians for some considerable time and never being caught, Bitton asked his Egyptian superiors for permission to retire. He settled in West Germany, where he died peacefully. His career would probably never have become known if in 1988 Egyptian television had not broadcast the story of Bitton's life. The first reaction to the film in Israel was that it was an Egyptian fiction. Eventually Israel admitted that Bitton had spied in Israel for Egypt, but insisted that he had done little damage to Israeli interests.

BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION. *See* MUNICH MASSACRE; SPRING OF YOUTH OPERATION; TERRORISM; WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

BLANKET OPERATION. In 1970 intelligence began to trickle in to the Israeli government from Syria on the privations suffered by the Jewish communities in Aleppo and Damascus. There were reports of young Jews making an effort to flee Syria despite the difficulties and the dangers. Some of them set out from Syria secretly, with the help of smugglers, and tried to cross the border into Lebanon. A few were caught and imprisoned by the Syrian authorities, then tortured and even shot.

The Israeli government, under the premiership of Golda Meir, resolved to embark on an operation to bring the Jews of Syria to Israel. Known as the Blanket Operation, it began in 1970 and lasted several years; it was in fact a series of individual operations. The **Mossad** was charged with responsibility for its implementation. It was carried out by combat troops of Shayetet 13 (Naval Commando) of the Israeli Navy, acting under orders of the Mossad.

As part of the overall operation, dozens of incursions were made by Mossad operatives and fighters of 13 Naval Commando into Syria by many and varied means. Participants in the operation were required to possess flawless expertise. Tried and tested combat soldiers were chosen for the operation. In addition to their military skills, they were natives of foreign countries, so that they spoke foreign languages, mostly French, in the local dialect.

Fighters from the standing army and the reserves were called to undertake dangerous missions of bringing the Jews of Syria to Israel

whenever it was decided to reactivate the operation. They generally worked in pairs, but sometimes in larger squads as well. On one such foray, over several stormy nights in the winter of 1972, the Naval Commando fighters made their way to the Syrian coast in an Israeli Navy missile craft. Upon reaching their destination, they disguised themselves in *kefiyahs*, while under their clothes they kept handguns concealed. They were awaited on shore by a former naval commando who was at the time the liaison of the Mossad in Syria under the pseudonym "Yonatan." For the first two nights of their stay in Syria, they wandered around Damascus at great risk to their own safety. On one occasion, a Jewish storeowner in the market approached a couple of disguised commando fighters and asked them in Hebrew, "You're ours, aren't you?" The fighters, of course, did not respond to the question.

The task of the Mossad liaison living in secret in Syria was to arrange periodic clandestine meetings with candidates for departure from Syria. For the purpose of the exodus meeting, points on the shore were fixed. At times, when the fighters suspected that Syrian security personnel were present at the meeting place, the rendezvous was changed at the last moment. From the shore, the group was taken to an Israeli Navy ship anchored offshore and then onward to Israel. Those who went were for the most part 15 to 20 years old.

At times the Mossad operatives and the naval commando fighters entered Syria by air from various cities in Europe. Sometimes the Jews were taken out of the country across the land border with Lebanon via a drug smugglers' route. Sometimes the base for a foray into Syria was a certain apartment in Beirut, where the liaison was the Mossad agent Yitzhak Shoshan, a veteran Arab impersonator from the time of the **Arab Platoon** of the Palmah, who had lived secretly in Beirut for about two years at the time of the operation.

The Israeli government invested many resources in the Blanket Operation, which in sum succeeded in bringing only a few dozen young Jews to Israel. The participants made the Syrian capital almost their home, while taking enormous risks. Moreover, this was just a few years after the capture and execution of the Israeli spy in Syria **Eli Cohen.**

BLUMBERG, BINYAMIN (1923–). Blumberg served in the intelligence community of prestate Israel. After the establishment of the state,

he joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), where he assumed responsibility for security within the Ministry of Defense. After he retired from the ISA in the 1962, Shimon Peres, then minister of defense, appointed him to head the Office of Special Assignments, a new unit in the Defense Ministry. At the end of the 1970s this unit's name was changed to **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** (LAKAM). Blumberg had a particular desire for action, and he proposed that LAKAM engage in stealing scientific and technological information for the entire Israeli defense industry. He became known especially for his success in obtaining the Mirage III blueprints. Attempts to dismiss Blumberg on the grounds that he was uncontrollable were made from time to time, especially because of his financial decisions and his penchant for providing services to his friends (*see also* FRAUENKNECHT, ALFRED).

After the right-wing Likud party came to power in Israel in May 1977, the new prime minister, Menachem Begin, intensified attempts to remove Blumberg from office. There were even accusations of money laundering in LAKAM under Blumberg. When Ezer Weizman was appointed minister of defense, he reached an agreement with Blumberg whereby the latter agreed to report to Weizman in the future. However allegations persisted that Blumberg preferred sidestepping official channels to grant benefits to certain Israeli businessman. Blumberg ran LAKAM until 1981, by which time its activities were rash to the point of madness, although there was a semblance of supervision. From the mid-1970s the secret services subcommittee of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, headed by Moshe Arens, was also regularly briefed on the activities of the bureau. After Ariel Sharon was appointed minister of defense in 1981, he fired Blumberg and appointed a **Mossad** veteran, **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan**, to direct LAKAM.

BOUCHIKI, AHMED. *See* LILLEHAMMER AFFAIR; SALAMEH, ALI HASSAN.

BOUDIA, MOHAMMED. A **terrorist** par excellence, Boudia joined the Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria as early as the 1950s and was jailed in France for three years. After his release, he managed a small theater in Paris and was known as a ladies' man, nicknamed Bluebeard. In 1972 Boudia offered his services to the Palestinians, acting

as a liaison between the Palestine Liberation Organization's headquarters and its offices in Europe. That same year, Boudia was targeted for assassination by **Committee X** after the 1972 **Munich massacre** as part of the **Wrath of God Operation**.

In 1972, Boudia sent a terrorist gang to Israel, including Evelyn Barrage, the sisters Nadia and Marlene Bradley, and a strange elderly couple. Barrage ran the box office at Boudia's theater and was his mistress after work. When the gang landed at Lod airport in Israel, nothing suspicious was found in their luggage, but the security guards discovered that their clothes, toiletries, and sanitary towels had been soaked in a special explosive material that had dried. The elderly couple had detonators hidden inside a radio set, and they planned to create several bombs and place them in hotels in Tel Aviv. The entire gang was arrested for questioning.

Under interrogation, the detainees revealed information about Boudia to the investigators. In Paris, Boudia apparently realized that he was being sought. However, tailing him proved to be difficult, given his access to theater disguises and his uncanny ability to change identities and addresses in rapid succession. When the **Mossad** operatives were on the point of despair, they laid a trap for Boudia in the pedestrian passageways under the Place d'Etoile (now Place Charles de Gaulle) and the Arc de Triomphe. They knew that he customarily walked that way each morning, but they did not know which of the 12 subways he would choose. On the morning of the operation, the Mossad agents took their positions alongside Israeli students who were studying in Paris and had been specially recruited for this purpose. They all scanned the crowds of thousands for Mohammed Boudia, and then the unbelievable happened: he was spotted. From that instant, his trackers never let him out of their sight. A few days later, on 28 June 1973, Boudia awoke in the abode of one of his lovers and breakfasted as usual. When he got into his car parked on the Rue de Fosses Saint-Bernard and switched on the ignition, the car exploded. The mission was finally, but successfully, accomplished by the Kidon team.

BRANCH 2. The Jordanian and Arab Peninsula desk in **Military Intelligence** (MI). After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, all of the branches in the MI were renamed theaters. *See also* CENTRAL THEATER; SOUTH THEATER.

BRANCH 5. The desk in **Military Intelligence** (MI) responsible for Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, all of the branches in MI were renamed theaters. *See also* NORTH THEATER.

BRANCH 6. The desk in **Military Intelligence** (MI) responsible for Egypt, Sudan, and North Africa. After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, all of the branches in MI were renamed theaters. *See also* SOUTH THEATER.

BRANCH 7. The desk in **Military Intelligence** (MI) responsible for technological and weapons developments, especially in the Arab world. After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, all of the branches in MI were renamed theaters. *See also* TECHNOLOGICAL THEATER.

BRANCH AIR 4/ANAF AVIR 4. *See* AIR INTELLIGENCE SQUADRON.

BRIHA. Hebrew for "escape," Briha designated the organized illegal immigration movement of Jews to Palestine from Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe after World War II. It was perhaps the largest organized clandestine population transfer in history. Briha is astounding both in its organization for handling the continuous human flow and in the mass movement itself. The aim was to reach the Mediterranean coasts of Europe, where ships waited in secret, arranged by the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**. Briha operations were started in July 1945 by Abba Kovner and other surviving partisans of the war from Vilna, Lithuania; Jewish war survivors themselves constituted most of the Briha operatives who escorted the escapees. As the exodus of survivors from Eastern Europe intensified in the summer of 1946, the decision was made to establish a network of way stations that would route the survivors through Poland into the American-occupied zone of Germany. The U.S. zone commanders, along with the Czechoslovak government, tacitly permitted the infiltration. Soldiers from the Jewish Brigade and the underground Jewish militias in Palestine assumed administration of the program, and funds were provided by the American Jewish Distribution Committee. Between August 1945 and the end of June 1946, Briha figures show 48,106 refugees had left Poland in this way. The total number of Jews who reached Pales-

tine through the Briha is unknown, but the estimates range from 80,000 to 250,000.

BULL, GERALD (1928–1990). As a Canadian-born astrophysicist and metallurgist, Bull worked during the 1960s for the Canadian Defense Ministry as well as for the U.S. military. He was involved in a project to build a cannon powerful enough to launch satellites into space. From 1980 on, he lived in Brussels, where he offered his services as an artillery consultant to the military establishments of various countries, including Israel. Bull's offer was turned down by the Israelis. However, in the early 1980s, while Iraq was at war with Iran, Bull was hired by Iraq to help with its project on the development of a megacannon capable of firing a huge projectile from a distance of 1,500 kilometers (930 miles). On 22 March 1990, Bull was shot dead from close range at the entrance to his home. The two assassins escaped without taking his briefcase or any of the documents and jewelry he was carrying. Various theories about who was responsible for the assassination were circulated in the international media, many of which asserted that the **Mossad** was behind it. Iraq and Iran were also identified as candidates, as was the Central Intelligence Agency. Bull's family members have their own theory, namely, that he was in touch with members of Israeli intelligence to whom he provided inside information about the Iraqi supergun project. According to another theory, the Mossad killed him for failing to provide complete information about the Iraqi program to extend the range of Scud missiles and to improve their accuracy. The circumstances of Bull's assassination are still shrouded in mystery and will probably remain so.

BUQA'I, YA'ACOV (1930–1949). Born in Damascus, Syria, Buqa'i immigrated to Palestine in 1945 and worked as an electrician in Kibbutz Ashdot Ya'akov. In 1948 he joined the **Arab Platoon** after a short period of training in Muslim customs, radio communications techniques, secret writing, and parachuting. To construct his cover story, he was even held as an Arab in an Israeli prisoner-of-war camp after Israel's War of Independence. Buqa'i was assigned to a secret mission in the guise of an Arab refugee from Jaffa under the name of Ibrahim Jajib Hammouda. On 2 May 1949, together with a group of other released prisoners of war, he crossed

the border to Jordan, whence he was supposed to proceed to Syria. However, Buqa'i fell victim to a genuine "fellow" prisoner who discerned something odd in his behavior as a Muslim Arab. In the Old City of Jerusalem, then under the Jordanian regime, he was detained for interrogation. Buqa'i was then transferred to a prison in Amman, where he was tortured, tried, and hanged on 3 August 1949. His controller in Israeli intelligence was **Ya'acov Nimrodi**. *See also* MISTA'ARAVIM.

BUREAU OF SCIENTIFIC LIAISON/LISHKA LE'KISHREI MADA (LAKAM). Created in 1957 under the directorship of **Binyamin Blumberg** (1957–1981), LAKAM was initially called the Office of Special Assignments. Its mission was to collect scientific and technical intelligence by whatever means necessary, including stealing from or bribing open or covert sources. LAKAM offices were established in the United States in Boston, Los Angeles, New York, and Washington, from which technical journals were shipped to Israel on a weekly basis. The organization was under surveillance for a long time by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

LAKAM's best-known success was obtaining the blueprint of the French Mirage-III fighter aircraft from Swiss engineer **Alfred Frauenknecht** in 1968. Thereafter, its successes were minor. The LAKAM database contained the names of American Jewish scientists, including Dr. Zalman M. Shapiro, who was the president of **Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation (NUMEC)**. Shapiro was a pioneer in the nuclear industry in the United States and a strong supporter of Israel. Through NUMEC, LAKAM was able to obtain uranium for the Israeli **nuclear weapons program**.

Binyamin Blumberg was succeeded by **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan**, who directed LAKAM until 1986. Under Eitan's directorship, **Jonathan Jay Pollard** was led by LAKAM to commit espionage for Israel. Due to LAKAM's lack of professionalism, Pollard's identity was uncovered and there was a great deal of scandal surrounding the whole case. LAKAM was disbanded as a result. From its inception, the **Mossad** had been dissatisfied with the unprofessional nature of the bureau, largely because its agents were not trained as professional intelligence officers. A unit of the Israeli Foreign Ministry now obtains the technological and scientific information previously gathered by LAKAM.

BUS 300 AFFAIR. On 12 April 1984, four Palestinians hijacked bus number 300 en route from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon with 41 passengers and forced it to drive to the Gaza Strip. In Dier-el-Balah, about 9 miles (15 kilometers) south of Gaza City, the bus finally came to a stop and was surrounded by Israeli military and border police units. The terrorists said they belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), headed by George Habash. Throughout the night they negotiated for the release of some 500 Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorists in Israeli jails.

Just before dawn, an elite Israel Defense Forces unit led by Brigadier General Yitzhak Mordechay stormed the bus. One young woman passenger was killed and seven other passengers were wounded during the rescue operation. Two of the terrorists were killed inside the bus. The other two reportedly were wounded and died en route to a hospital.

The Israeli military censor banned publication of pictures taken by two Israeli photographers that revealed the fact that the two "mortally wounded" terrorists had walked off the bus unhurt. They were subsequently severely beaten, then driven off in a van by **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) agents, who tortured and killed them. The director of the ISA, **Avraham Shalom**, supervised the action. The senior ISA executive who oversaw the actual killing was **Ehud Yatom**.

The full truth of the matter was probably not revealed, but the Israeli daily *Hadashot*, motivated by its need for sensational news, published the details. The affair ballooned into a mighty scandal. Two commissions of inquiry were appointed, one an internal ISA inquiry and the other the **Zorea Commission** (1984). The ISA executive maintained that General Mordechay killed the terrorists while beating them. Eventually Mordechay was exonerated with the news that two senior ISA officials had lied. As a result, Shalom was forced to resign the ISA directorship. His deputy **Reuven Hazak** and senior ISA officers Radai Peleg and Rafi Malka also resigned.

– C –

CAESARIA. *See* MOSSAD.

CAPUCCI, HILARION (1922–). In 1974, when he was Greek Melkite Catholic archbishop of Jerusalem, the Syrian-born Capucci

was caught by the **Israeli Security Agency** smuggling weapons and explosives to the Palestine Liberation Organization, of which he was a member. He was sentenced by an Israeli court to 15 years in jail, but was released in 1977.

CARA, ELI. *See* NEW ZEALAND PASSPORTS.

CARMON, CHAIM. Born in Poland, Carmon survived both the crushing of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising as well as the concentration camps. He served as the first **director of security for the Defense Establishment**, in charge of a top secret unit in the Ministry of Defense known as MALMAB.

As a Holocaust survivor, Carmon was occasionally asked in the 1950s how Israel could do business with Germans. His standard reply was that to prevent another holocaust he would be willing to do business even with the devil. The business in question then was the reparations agreement with West Germany. Carmon's brand of thinking got Israel involved in a several notable situations. He was linked to the weapons-for-hostages deal between the United States and Iran in the 1980s known as the **Irangate Affair**, to the **Jonathan Jay Pollard** affair in the 1980s, and to military cooperation with the apartheid regime in South Africa, which eventually caused Israel serious harm.

Carmon was also involved in the capture of **Mordechai Vanunu**, the Israeli former technician at the Dimona nuclear reactor who revealed to the *Sunday Times* the most secret information on Israel's **nuclear weapons program**. In Carmon's view, Vanunu should never have been allowed to go free, even if it meant that the security establishment would have to fabricate evidence to keep him in jail.

Carmon recommended that his deputy **Yehiel Horev** be appointed director of MALMAB in the mid-1980s. He quipped that he recommended Horev simply because of his sycophancy. Carmon was due to be promoted to the post of deputy director-general of the Defense Ministry, thus overseeing MALMAB as well as other agencies. Shortly after his appointment, Carmon went on sick leave. When he returned, he found Horev now superior to him. During Carmon's absence, Horev had persuaded David Ivri, the director-general of the Defense Ministry, that Carmon had been negligent in the case of Va-

nunu—using an army metaphor, "He had been sleeping on guard duty." With few options, Carmon resigned.

CARMON, YIGAL (1946–). Colonel (reserves) Carmon served in **Military Intelligence** (MI) from 1968 to 1988. From 1977 to 1982, he was the acting head of the civil administration in Judea and Samaria in the West Bank and the adviser on Arab affairs to the civil administration of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In 1982, Carmon became a senior officer of **Unit 504**, a small secret unit dedicated to human intelligence that was particularly active in Lebanon. After his retirement from the IDF, he served from 1988 to 1993 as the adviser to prime ministers **Yitzhak Shamir** and Yitzhak Rabin for countering **terrorism**. In 1991 and 1992, he was a senior member of the Israeli delegation for peace negotiations with Syria in Madrid and Washington.

Yigal Carmon is now the president of the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), which was established in February 1998. Its objective is to study and analyze the Middle East through the region's media. MEMRI's headquarters is located in Washington, D.C., with branch offices in Berlin, London, and Jerusalem. MEMRI's research is translated into English, German, Hebrew, Italian, French, Spanish, Turkish, and Russian. Although MEMRI's viewpoint is pro-Israel, it is not the case that it contains no criticism of Israel or that it is uniformly anti-Arab.

CAROZ, YA'ACOV (1920–). Born Emeric Kraus in Transylvania, Caroz immigrated to Palestine in 1938. He studied history and philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, concomitantly working in the Censorship Department of the British mandatory post office in Jerusalem. During World War II, he worked in the psychological warfare section of the British Army, whose purpose was to demoralize the Nazi Wehrmacht in North Africa. After the war, Caroz joined the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** and the **Information Service**. In the summer of 1947, he was dispatched to France and North Africa on a secret mission to escort Jews to Israel.

After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, having finished his mission in North Africa, Caroz was recruited in 1949 to the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and soon headed its Tel Aviv sector.

The main task in this sector was surveillance of underground groups that still existed from the prestate period such as the Irgun. His other task was counterintelligence, principally with respect to Britain, which was then considered a hostile country. The ISA had the job of tracing British citizens still in Israel after the end of the Mandate, whose number could not be assessed. In 1951 Caroz was transferred to Jerusalem and appointed head of the Jerusalem sector.

In early 1951 Caroz participated in the first interservice course of the Israeli intelligence community. Participants were from **Military Intelligence**, the intelligence unit of the Israel Police, and the ISA. After graduating from the course later that year, he was appointed to head the Arab Affairs Branch of the ISA. He engaged in preventing the organization of hostile Arab movements within Israel's borders.

After **Isser Harel**, the first director of the ISA, became director of the **Mossad**, Caroz was transferred to the latter organization and was sent to Paris, mainly on missions of conveying Jews from North Africa to Israel. He remained in France, where he headed **Misgeret**, the Mossad's subagency for smuggling Jews out of North Africa (especially Morocco and Algeria) to Israel. In Paris, Caroz also helped in some ways to develop Franco-Israeli relations on the eve of the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**. In November 1957, Caroz was dispatched for a short period to Iran to develop Israel's relations with that country.

In December 1957 Caroz returned to Paris, ending his career there in April 1958. He was then sent a few times on brief secret missions to Ethiopia and Sudan as part of Israel's **Periphery Doctrine** of fostering relations with countries on the edges of the Arab world.

In 1958 Caroz was asked by Harel to set up the Tevel wing of the Mossad, which was to be responsible for maintaining "shadow diplomatic relations" between the Mossad, rather than the Israeli Foreign Ministry, and countries with which Israel did not have diplomatic relations. Liaison between the Mossad and foreign intelligence communities had existed almost from the day of its establishment but a wing dedicated to this matter had not existed before 1958. Caroz created and was the first head of Tevel. He left this position in summer 1961.

In the 1960s Caroz was on the team searching for the kidnapped Israeli boy **Yossele Schumacher**. He also took part in the **Damocles Operation** to prevent German scientists from developing surface-to-

surface missiles for Egypt. He was indeed involved in many clandestine activities.

When **Meir Amit** became director of the Mossad in 1963, Caroz was appointed his deputy. But Caroz remained a close and loyal supporter of Harel, to whom he conveyed sensitive Mossad documents. Amit disapproved of this practice, and in October 1965 he demanded that that his deputy take a leave of absence. Caroz refused, so Amit restricted Caroz's access to sensitive intelligence information. In 1966 he resigned from the Mossad.

In 1968 the Foreign Ministry stationed Caroz in Athens to represent Israel as a diplomat. For the first time in his long career, Caroz had a job that was not under cover. He ended this diplomatic mission in 1970 and returned to Israel.

Caroz was a great Hebraist and invented many Hebrew intelligence terms. Examples include *beit-mivtahim* for safe house, *bodel* for courier, *midur* for compartmentalization, and *bath-levayah* for female assistant.

CENTER FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH (CPR)/MAHLKA LE'MEHKAR MEDINI (MAMAD). In the Jewish settlement in Palestine prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, two political departments existed. One was formed in the **Information Service**, the other in the Jewish Agency. Soon after the state's establishment in May 1948, a Political Department was set up in the Foreign Ministry and took over most of the tasks of its two forerunners. The first director of the Political Department was **Boris Guriel**, who created an ultrasecret subdepartment, **Heker 2**, which was in charge of espionage and propaganda in Arab countries. The Foreign Ministry's Political Department was in charge of the operations branch known as Da'at ("Knowledge"). **Asher Ben-Natan** was appointed head of Da'at and was stationed in Paris. Most of the staff of the operations section were stationed in Europe.

With the creation of the **Mossad** in April 1949, it took over most of the functions of the Political Department, which began to be dismantled. Heker 2 was transformed into **Unit 131** in **Military Intelligence** (MI). Da'at was replaced in April 1951 by the Foreign Intelligence Authority (Rashut Le'Modi'in Be'Hul) in the Mossad and was directed by Haim Ya'ari. Following these changes, Guriel resigned

from the intelligence service and became keeper of the Weizmann Archives in Rehovot, Israel.

After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, following the recommendation of the **Agranat Commission**, a small Research Department was set up in the Foreign Ministry with the aim of producing independent political-strategic intelligence evaluations. Foreign Minister Yigal Alon (1974–1977) wished to upgrade this department into an important political instrument that could change the status of the Foreign Ministry and make it a significant actor in the domain of decision making on issues of foreign policy. Alon's first step was to change the name of the department to the Center for Political Planning and Research (CPPR)/Ha'Mahlaka Le'Mehkar Ve'Tikhnon Medini (Matmad). It was given a twofold task: to research and evaluate what was taking place in the Middle East and the world; and to advise the foreign minister and the government of Israel on foreign policy. The CPPR was intended to serve as a central factor in the work of the Foreign Ministry staff. Its workforce was tripled to 120, and intelligence researchers were taken on, principally those with a background in the military intelligence system.

This pursuit lasted three years; in 1977 the government of Menachem Begin took power, and Moshe Dayan became foreign minister (1977–1979). The head of the CPPR, reserve brigadier general Yehoshua Raviv, resigned for personal reasons upon Dayan's appointment. Dayan expunged the word "Planning" from the center's title, giving it its current name. He did not ascribe great value to the center's activity or evaluations. **Moshe Sasson** was appointed head of the CPR, and the number of its operatives plummeted in two months to less than 80. The center's researchers were not party to the secret meetings held by the minister in the search for a political breakthrough.

Dayan's military background had trained him to work with MI and the Mossad, and he had no need for the intelligence service in his own ministry. To remove pressure from himself on the question of responsibility for the nonoperation of the center, Dayan appointed reserve general Aharon Yariv to chair a committee whose task it was to define the roles of the CPR. Dayan also informed the committee that he did not expect the center to engage at all in planning. The committee submitted its conclusions, asserting that the CPR had an important staff function

(contrary to the minister's expectations); but the report added that if the minister found no interest in the center, it was not required at all.

The MI and Mossad disregarded the CPR and did not convey raw intelligence material to it. The result was that the center did not manage to rise to the status of a significant intelligence factor, although with far smaller budgets than those of other intelligence bodies in Israel, it was able to supply evaluations that sometimes were better. For example, when MI estimated that the brother of King Hussein would succeed him, the CPR correctly estimated that his successor would be one of his sons.

Currently the Center for Political Research consists of 10 sections and monitors events, developments, and political processes, mainly in the Middle East, including international involvement there. The center's main tasks include gathering, analyzing, and evaluating political information, as required by the Foreign Ministry; providing regular political briefings and guidance to Israel's missions throughout the world; and assisting the political information network, in Israel and overseas, with its expertise in Middle East affairs.

The CPR has succeeded in building its image as a body capable of producing intelligence assessments on international political affairs generally. Still, when **Ehud Barak** served as foreign minister (November 1995–June 1996), he preferred the assessments of MI to those of the CPR in his own ministry. The CPR is regarded as a kind of "deep freeze" for Israeli diplomats returning from missions abroad and awaiting new jobs in Jerusalem or overseas.

CENTER FOR SPECIAL STUDIES (CSS)/HA'MERKAZ LE'-MORESHET HA'MODI'IN. The literal translation is Center for the Legacy of Intelligence. It was established on 6 June 1985 in memory of the fallen of the Israeli intelligence community. The CSS devotes its resources to the education of the younger generation about past deeds of Israeli intelligence, holding conferences, and publishing newsletters. The center has a web site, http://intelligence.org.il. It is located at the Glilot Junction, north of Tel Aviv.

CENTRAL THEATER/ZIRA MERKAZIT (ZIMAR). The desk in **Military Intelligence** (MI) responsible for the assessments on Iran, Iraq, northern Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. Until the 1973 **Yom Kippur**

War, the desks in MI were named "branches." *See also* BRANCH 2; BRANCH 5.

CENTRAL WARNING UNIT. *See* UNIT 8200.

CHOTEL. *See* ASHRAF, MARWAN.

CINDY. *See* BEN-TOV, CHERYL.

COHEN, AHARON (1910–1980). Born in Bessarabia, Cohen immigrated to Palestine in 1937 and settled at Kibbutz Sha'ar Ha'amakim. By profession he was a specialist in the Arab world; he was also a political activist in the United Workers party (Mapam). He was active in the Israeli Arab sector and one of the leaders of the left wing of his kibbutz and the party. Cohen published many papers in his academic field and worked for Jewish-Arab amity. In 1958 he was charged with maintaining contacts with a foreign agent, having been apprehended when meeting a Soviet diplomat at the Soviet embassy in Israel. In 1960 he was found guilty and was sentenced to five years in prison. Following an amendment to the law concerning contact with a foreign agent, he was pardoned by the Israeli president and released from prison in 1963.

COHEN, CEASAR YOSEF (1923–?). Egyptian Jew. In 1954 Cohen was employed in the Zilcha Bank in Cairo. He was married with two children. Cohen was recruited into the Cairo cell of the Jewish espionage network set up by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131**. After the **Bad Business**, Cohen was arrested by the Egyptian police together with the other members of the espionage network. He was tried and acquitted, but the state interrogators were so furious at his misleading them that they planned a particularly cruel punishment. While in custody, he was informed that he had been sentenced to death. He was placed before a firing squad. The rifles were not fired, but Ceasar Cohen was never the same again. His nerves gave away and he developed a severe stutter.

COHEN, ELI (1924–1965). Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Eli Cohen had a high IQ, great bravery, a phenomenal memory, and the ability to

keep secrets, all of which made him suitable as a spy. Despite the failure of the **Bad Business** in 1954, Cohen was recruited for the spy mission while he was still in Egypt. In 1955 he went to Israel in secret for a short but intensive training in espionage techniques. Cohen returned to Egypt in 1956, but immediately came under suspicion and was placed under surveillance. At the beginning of the **Sinai Campaign** in 1956, when Israel occupied the Sinai Desert, Cohen was detained by the Egyptian authorities; he was later expelled from Egypt along with the remaining Alexandrian Jews at the end of the war. He arrived in Israel on 8 February 1957 and was drafted for a short period of military service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) as a translator.

In May 1960, he was recruited to Unit 188, the unit that replaced **Unit 131** in dispatching spies to Arab countries. Upon reviewing Cohen's file, officers of **Military Intelligence** (MI) noted that he had been born in an Arab country; had Oriental features; spoke Arabic, English, and French; and was known to be fearless when carrying out a mission. They called Cohen in and proposed that he operate as a spy in Syria, where tension with Israel was increasing, particularly on the border between the two countries. At the time, Cohen had just gotten married and was working as an accountant in a Tel Aviv firm, so he was reluctant to accept such a dangerous job. But when he lost his job a month later and the MI officers contacted him again, he accepted their offer. He underwent extensive training in high-speed evasive driving techniques, weapons proficiency (in particular with a wide variety of small arms), topography, map reading, sabotage, and, most importantly, radio and Morse code transmissions and cryptography.

Cohen's most difficult task was to learn the intricate and unmistakable phonetic intonation of Syrian Arabic to disguise his Egyptian accent. His trainer was an Iraqi-born Jew who had long trained operatives in Arabic language and traditions and Muslim customs. Under cover as the son of Syrian Muslim parents born in Beirut, Cohen assumed the name Kamal Amin Ta'abet (also Tabas according to some sources). According to his fictional biography, his family had moved in 1948 to Argentina, where they opened a successful textile business. The return of Kamal Amin Ta'abat to Syria would ostensibly be the fulfillment of his lifelong patriotic dream.

In early 1961 Eli Cohen was sent to Buenos Aires to establish his cover as a Syrian-Argentinean. He soon established himself in the so-

cial and cultural life of the Syrian community of Buenos Aires and became known as a wealthy businessman. Cohen had a reputation for indulging in nightlife, and he made contacts through dinners, social occasions, and friendships with senior figures. He soon became accepted, well liked, and respected and befriended politicians, diplomats, and military officials working out of the Syrian embassy. One of them was Colonel Amin al-Hafez, a supporter of the secular-leftist Ba'ath party. Soon he received invitations to visit Damascus and to set up a business venture there and was promised backing in any such initiative. His success in effectively penetrating the Syrian social and political/diplomatic/military strata far surpassed the MI's greatest expectations.

At the end of 1961, Syria dissolved its fleeting three-year union with Egypt. The Ba'ath Party was increasing in strength, and Cohen wanted to be present when it actually took power. He arrived in Damascus in January 1962 as a businessman from Argentina returning home. He nurtured contacts with the Ba'ath leadership, including his earlier acquaintance, the former Syrian military attaché in Argentina, General Amin al-Hafez. His lively social life included gatherings at his own apartment, often attended by Syrian ministers and army generals, who talked freely of their work and of Syrian army plans. In time Cohen gained the trust of the top Syrian echelons. He became a confidant of George Saif, a senior official in the Syrian Ministry of Information, where he was a frequent visitor and even had access to classified documents.

By the time the Ba'ath Party took power in 1963, Cohen was firmly entrenched in Syrian high society. Every few days he conveyed important information to his Israeli base via a radio transmitter he had hidden in his room. Three times between 1962 and 1965 Cohen returned to Israel to speak with his Israeli handlers and to be with his family. His wife Nadia knew that he was working for the Ministry of Defense, but she did not know where or in what capacity. She was told that he would be completely safe, and she believed that he was until his capture in 1965.

Two senior Syrian army officers who were among Eli Cohen's closest friends informed him of the Syrian plan to divert the flow of the Baniyas River, one of Israel's main water sources. Early in 1964, Cohen transmitted the information to Israel that a canal was being dug along the entire length of the Syrian Heights to receive the diverted

flow of the Baniyas. This information enabled the Israel Air Force (IAF) to halt the Syrian water diversion plans by launching air raids to destroy the bulldozers and other equipment used for the project.

Through his high-level contacts in Syria, Cohen was granted an opportunity to visit the Golan Heights, which served as a major strategic asset for Syria from 1948 to 1967. The Golan Heights defenses were one of Syria's top secrets and were known only to the most senior Syrian army officers. Nevertheless, "Ta'abet" succeeded in visiting each and every position on the Golan Heights and was given an in-depth intelligence briefing by senior staff officers. He was even photographed there, looking down into Israel, beside the highest-ranking Syrian officers. He remembered and transmitted the positioning of every fortification and tank trap designed to impede an Israeli attack.

One of Cohen's most famous exploits was to suggest that the Syrians plant eucalyptus trees around the strategic points to deceive the Israelis into thinking they were unfortified, as well as to provide shade and beauty for the soldiers stationed there. The Syrian officer readily agreed, and Cohen immediately transmitted the locations of the trees to Israel. Accordingly, Israel was able to pinpoint the exact locations of the Syrian fortifications. Indeed, the information that he provided proved to be invaluable in the **Six-Day War** in June 1967, helping the IDF to conquer the Golan Heights in two days.

Cohen's friendship with Amin al-Hafez proved to be very valuable. After al-Hafez became prime minister, Cohen was even considered for the post of Syrian deputy minister of defense. However, changes were taking place in the Syrian government that alarmed Cohen. The commander of Syrian Intelligence, Colonel Ahmed Su'edani, trusted no one and disliked "Ta'abet." On his final visit to Israel, in November, 1964, Cohen expressed his fear and his wish to terminate his assignment. The **Mossad**, to which Cohen now belonged, asked him to return to Syria one more time.

Cohen returned to Syria, but seemingly threw all caution to the wind in his transmissions to Israel, sometimes calling once or even twice a day, almost always at the same time in the morning and for longer periods of time. He was said to have used the transmitter like a telephone, replying almost immediately to all questions coming from Israel. Some later attributed this behavior to overconfidence inspired by the ease with which he moved in the highest echelons of Syrian power.

On the other side, the Syrians and their Soviet advisers were alarmed by the intelligence that was leaking out of Syria. The Soviet security experts, equipped with highly sensitive technical intelligence-gathering equipment, pinpointed Cohen's apartment as the source of the Morse Code transmissions emanating from Damascus. On 18 January 1965, Syrian security men broke into Cohen's apartment while he was in the middle of transmitting to Israel. He was arrested and tortured, but provided no incriminating information about Israel. His captors later remarked on his courage despite the horrific Syrian interrogation methods. World leaders, business tycoons, the Israeli government, the pope, and many others in the Western world rallied to support him, but he was sentenced to death and was hanged on 18 May 1965. The execution in the central square of Damascus was broadcast on Syrian television. A white parchment covered with anti-Zionist slogans was put around his body, which was left hanging for six hours. Eli Cohen is remembered fondly as "Our Man in Damascus."

COHEN, VICTOR. A Syrian-born Jew, Cohen joined the Arab counterespionage section of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) in 1952. The section was then headed by **Ya'acov Caroz**. In 1956 the head of the interrogation section, **Zvi Aharoni**, at his own initiative asked Cohen to join his section. Cohen agreed, and he took part in the 1957 interrogation of **Avraham (Avri) Elad**. In 1959 Cohen became head of the ISA interrogation section, replacing Aharoni, who moved to the **Mossad**. Aryeh Hadar was appointed Victor Cohen's deputy in the ISA interrogation section.

COHEN COMMISSION. A commission appointed by the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Chaim Laskov, on 28 August 1960 to inquire into whether **Pinhas Lavon**, then defense minister and in 1960 secretary general of the Histadrut, was responsible for the collapse of an Israeli-organized intelligence network in Egypt in 1954. The **Bad Business** of 1954 resurfaced and soon become known as the Lavon Affair. The commission was chaired by Supreme Court Judge Haim Cohen, who also acted as military legal adviser with the rank of colonel. The two other commission members were Colonel Aharon Doron and Colonel Mattityahu Peled. On 16 October 1960 the commission concluded: "The head of [**Military Intelligence**] and

the commander of **Unit 131** suborned their subordinate to commit perjury before the **Ulshan-Dori Commission**." *See also* AMIAD COMMISSION; COMMITTEE OF SEVEN.

COJOT, MICHELE. A French Jew, Cojot was a passenger on the Air France flight 139 that was hijacked to Entebbe, Uganda, in June 1976. After the terrorists decided to release the non-Jewish and non-Israeli passengers, she succeeded in joining the group of passengers who were released and was allowed to fly to Paris. A **Mossad** officer came to Paris to interrogate the passengers who were released in order to obtain information about the terminal at Entebbe airport. Cojot in particular recalled the airport layout and the locations of the passengers, the terrorists, and the explosives they had planted in the terminal. This information, together with other sources' information, contributed to the success of the elite unit **Sayeret Matkal** of the Israel Defense Forces during its rescue mission known as **Yehonathan Operation**.

COMMITTEE OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES/VA'ADAT RASHEI HASHERUTIM (VARASH). The central body of the Israeli intelligence, VARASH was created by **Reuven Shiloah** and first convened in mid-1949. Its purpose is primarily to coordinate all Israeli domestic and foreign intelligence activity. The committee members are the director of the **Mossad**, the director of **Military Intelligence**, and the director of the **Israeli Security Agency**; in addition, the inspector general of the Israel Police, the director of the **Center for Political Research** in the Foreign Ministry, the counterterror adviser to the prime minister, and the director of **Nativ** were formerly members of VARASH. The director of the Mossad chairs the committee, and in this capacity he is responsible directly to the prime minister. The members of VARASH are quasi-equal in their status. Meetings of VARASH occur no less frequently than biweekly.

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO ISRAEL'S INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM IN LIGHT OF THE WAR IN IRAQ. This committee began its work in July 2003 and concluded with a report written in March 2004. The committee was headed by the chairman of the

Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Yuval Steinitz. The other members of the committee were Knesset members Haim Ramon (Labor), **Ehud Yatom** (Likud), David Levy (Likud), Eli Yishai (Shas), and Ilan Leibowitz (Shinui). A former director of the **Mossad**, **Shabtai Shavit**, served as consultant to the committee.

The purpose of the committee was to assess the functioning of the Israeli intelligence system in light of what were deemed failures stemming from major inherent structural problems. In 50 closed-door meetings in its eight-month existence, the committee heard testimony from Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz, Chief of the General Staff Lieutenant General **Moshe Ya'alon**, and directors of the intelligence community.

In its report, the committee's main findings were that the Israeli intelligence community concluded that Iraq had missile launchers and was prepared to fire nonconventional weapons at Israel. This assessment, which proved incorrect, had led the government to order Israeli citizens to open their personal gas mask protection kits (at an estimated cost of $22 million) and to maintain special deployment of the Israel Air Force at enormous expenditure.

The wide-ranging information that the intelligence services succeeded in gathering by various means ahead of the war did not succeed in providing indisputable indications of the existence of nonconventional capabilities or of surface-to-surface missiles and missile launchers in Iraq. At the same time, they were unable to negate the existence of these weapons in Iraq and dissipate concern.

The report added that Israeli intelligence had been the first to point out that Iran was developing nuclear capabilities, but failed in its assessments of Libya's nonconventional weapons program.

Concerning Iraq, Israeli intelligence passed on assessments to the United States, which then prepared its own version of the information. When this updated version was received in Israel, officials believed they were receiving new information corroborating earlier reports.

Based on its findings, the committee proposed an unprecedented and far-reaching program of structural reform for the intelligence community. It would involve the separation of signals intelligence **Unit 8200** from **Military Intelligence** and its restructuring as a national, civilian-run intelligence-gathering agency.

COMMITTEE OF SEVEN. In 1960 the Israeli government decided once again to set up a committee—this time of seven ministers, headed by Pinchas Rosen, the minister of justice—to look into the circumstances of the **Bad Business**, the collapse of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt in 1954. This committee inspected documents but did not call witnesses. On 21 December 1960 it published its unanimous conclusion that **Pinhas Lavon** did not give the order to carry out the 1954 operation. Their report, endorsed by the government and the Knesset, sparked another storm. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion expressed his sharp opposition to the committee's conclusions, attacked Lavon and the committee members, and termed the manner of its investigation a travesty of justice directed against the army officer involved in the affair. He demanded that the matter be reviewed by a body certified to summon and to question witnesses, such as a court. *See also* AMIAD COMMISSION; COHEN COMMISSION; ULSHAN-DORI COMMISSION.

COMMITTEE X. In retaliation for the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games, Prime Minister Golda Meir's government conducted a massive air bombardment of **terrorist** bases in Lebanon. But the feeling was that this action was inadequate. The newly appointed adviser to the prime minister on counterterrorism, **Aharon Yariv**, and the director of the **Mossad**, **Zvi Zamir**, persuaded the Israeli cabinet to form a top secret counterterrorist committee within the Israeli cabinet. This led to the prime minister's creation of Committee X, which in practice acted as a kind of court handing down death sentences to terrorists. The members of the committee were Prime Minister Golda Meir, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, Foreign Minister Yigal Alon, and Yisrael Galili, then minister without a portfolio but the prime mover of the committee's actions. Apart from the government ministers, another member was Yariv, the prime minister's intelligence adviser; later he was replaced by Rehavam Ze'evi. Zamir, acting as a kind of prosecutor, always appeared before the committee to furnish evidence. No one stood before the committee in the role of counsel for the defense. Committee X resolved to kill the Palestinian terrorists who were directly or indirectly involved in the planning, assisting, or executing of the attack on the Israeli athletes. It listed 35 main assassination targets, including other

leaders of Palestinian terrorism who were not necessarily linked to the slaughter. These plans were put into action in the **Wrath of God Operation** and the **Spring of Youth Operation**.

Committee X continued to exist and authorize the covert targeted killing of all those involved in any kind of terrorism, but the role of clandestine assassination in the Mossad's activities was greatly reduced after the **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco**, a failed assassination attempt in Jordan in September 1997.

CONCEPT, THE. After the 1967 **Six-Day War**, analysts of **Military Intelligence** (MI) in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) developed the opinion that Egypt was unprepared and unwilling to go to war against Israel. The theory, which became known as the "Concept" (*konseptzia*), was founded on the overwhelming Israeli victory against the Arabs armies in the Six-Day War, which the Arab armies would not be able to overcome for some time. It was also based on an Egyptian outlook provided by the Top Source, **Marwan Ashraf**, who claimed the Egyptian military establishment believed it would not be ready to wage war on Israel and achieve its goals of reoccupying territories lost to Israel in the Six-Day War until it obtained long-range offensive weapons from the Soviet Union. The Concept also held that the Arabs were not ready for an all-out war against Israel and would launch one only when they could attack all Israeli airfields simultaneously; in particular, Syria would not attack without Egypt. The theory was reinforced by the presence of the so-called Bar-Lev Line, IDF defensive positions deployed along the Suez Canal that could restrain any attacker long enough for the IDF to mobilize its entire army.

The obsession with the Concept drastically affected the Israel's political and military decision making. Based on the Concept, MI analysts assessed that if war were to begin, it would not be until at least two years after delivery to Egypt and Syria of these strategic weapons from the Soviet Union. Since, on the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** it was known that neither country had obtained these weapons, MI analysts estimated that war would not be possible until at least 1975.

An entrenched concept like this one very rarely changes of its own accord unless unequivocal information that utterly contradicts the concept is obtained or it is seen to fly in the face of reality. In the present case no such thing happened. MI did not learn that Egyptian pres-

ident Anwar Sadat had changed his mind in the fall of 1972. By late 1972, however, Sadat had decided that, instead of waiting for the Soviets to provide long-range bombers and Scud missiles, he would stage a limited attack into the western Sinai in order to shatter the status quo and spur the international community to set a political process in motion that would end with Israel's return to the international border. President Sadat decided that he would go to war without Scud missiles and without Sukhoi bombers and would rely on his heavy surface-to-air missiles. Marwan Ashraf failed to notify Israel of this change in policy, either because he was unaware of it or, as the double-agent school might contend, because he was part of the Egyptian deception.

In Israel, the Concept remained unchanged—it was even reinforced. Even when it did eventually become clear that the Arabs had aggressive intentions, Israeli intelligence analysts refused to believe that they would actually follow through on them. The Egyptian military buildup continued to be explained away as practice exercises without harmful intentions. Syrian deployments were more worrying. Even after the air battle of 13 September 1973, Syrian reinforcements were sent to the Golan. Leaves were canceled and Syrian reserves were called up, with a declaration of a state of alert. All these developments were worrying, especially to the IDF Northern Command. But because the Concept still held that Syria would not attack without Egypt, and Egypt was not planning to go to war, Syrian intentions were deemed not really aggressive in nature. This view survived even after **King Hussein's Warning** to Prime Minister Golda Meir on 25 September 1973 and the CIA's warning on the night of 29/30 September 1973 that a coordinated Egyptian-Syrian attack was possible. The MI analysts still concluded that it was nothing to worry about. The Concept collapsed when reality totally changed, with the outbreak of the war on 6 October 1973.

Despite the lessons of the Yom Kippur War, concepts still dominate states' thinking and analysis. For example, on the eve of the 2003 U.S. war against Iraq, the U.S. concept was that Saddam Hussein had various kinds of weapons of mass destruction and intended to use them if his back were against the wall. This concept has proved mistaken. *See also* AGRANAT COMMISSION; KNIZER, ZUSIA; LOW PROBABILITY.

CONTROL UNIT. *See* DEVIL'S ADVOCATE.

CROSS, TED. *See* GROSS AFFAIR.

– D –

DAGAN, MEIR (1945–). Born Meir Huberman in the Soviet Union, Dagan was taken to Israel in 1950 as a child survivor of the Holocaust. In 1963 he was inducted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), and in the 1970s Dagan, under Ariel Sharon as head of Southern Command, led the undercover Rimon unit, which killed Palestinian militants in Gaza. Rimon worked in cooperation with the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). Its members were **Mista'aravim**, soldiers disguised as Arabs.

In 1982 Dagan held a field command during the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and the ensuing war; he then helped to establish the pro-Israel South Lebanese Army. In Lebanon he engaged in activities similar to those in the 1970s in the Gaza Strip. In his military career, Dagan was twice wounded. He was awarded the medal of valor.

At the time of the first Palestinian uprising (Intifada) in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Dagan served as special assistant to the IDF chief of the General Staff (1987–1993). His task was to set up undercover units attached to the general staff.

After retiring from the IDF as a major general, in 1987 Dagan was appointed counterterrorism adviser to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. In this position Dagan, known for his hawkish views, wished to expand his powers to initiate more "offensive" and "aggressive" measures against **terrorists**. He continued to serve in this position under Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**.

In September 2002 Dagan was appointed the 10th director of the **Mossad**. The appointment was controversial: former Mossad operatives commented in private that Dagan lacked adequate experience in running agents. His supporters maintained that he possessed all the necessary attributes for the post. In any event, Dagan was a close confidant of his old commander Ariel Sharon, now prime minister.

Since taking office Dagan, with the prime minister's backing, has tried to shake up the Mossad and make it relevant to the realities of the

21st century. He wishes to make the espionage agency more operational. Soon after assuming his post, he called a meeting of department heads and declared that he intended to convert the hedonistic, overweight organization he inherited from **Efraim Halevy** into a lean fighting body. From his subordinates he demanded self-sacrifice, absolute obedience, blind and unquestioning execution of orders, and uncompromising adherence to values. Gradually, though, Mossad personnel realized that Dagan did not practice what he preached, and about 200 case officers, including seven station heads, resigned in protest.

Dagan constantly speaks of the almost-completed Iranian uranium enrichment plant in the central Kashan area, which could eventually serve to manufacture about a dozen nuclear bombs. He has described this scenario as the greatest threat Israel has ever faced. He did not say how Israel would counter this threat.

DAMOCLES OPERATION. After the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser wanted West Germany to build a surface-to-surface missile capability for Egypt that could be used in a future war against Israel. In 1962 **Isser Harel** learned that work on the project had begun and requested that Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion formally seek the intervention of West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to halt it. However, Ben-Gurion was determined not to clash with the West German government. At his own initiative, Harel thereupon set in motion subversive actions, with the overall title Damocles Operation, against German scientists working on the project in Egypt and their families. This campaign involved abductions and letter bombs, causing the deaths of at least five people in 1962 and 1963. Some of the letters were mailed by an Israeli spy in Egypt, **Wolfgang Lotz**. **Aharon Moshel**, another Israeli spy in Egypt, also engaged in hunting German scientists in that country.

Measures against Germans involved in the missile project were also carried out in Europe by Mossad agents, commanded in Europe by case officer Joseph (Joe) Ra'anan. He had joined the Mossad after serving as an intelligence officer in the Israel Air Force. Another key figure was **Yitzhak Shamir**. He and Harel traveled frequently to Europe to oversee Damocles Operation from their Paris hotel room. One success was the disappearance of Dr. Heinz Krug, probably murdered in September 1962. In February 1963 Dr. Hans Kleinwachter,

an electronics specialist who had been engaged on Nazi Germany's V-2 project in World War II, survived an assassination attempt by Shamir's team.

After initial successes, Damocles Operation came to an end in the fiasco in Switzerland on 15 March 1963. That day, the Swiss police arrested outside a Basel hotel two Mossad agents, **Yosef Ben-Gal** and **Otto Joklik**, for threatening the daughter of Paul Görke, one of the German scientists in Egypt, to force her to persuade her father to leave.

Harel believed that the Egyptians had not stopped building their missile capability program; eventually, again of his own accord, he decided to go public, to convince the world and the people in Israel of the menace. He dispatched Mossad agents to European capitals to brief journalists on the magnitude of the Egyptian missile threat to Israel. He also planted stories in the Israeli newspapers about the Egyptian missile program. Ben-Gurion was outraged; Harel was forced to resign from the Mossad, which he did on 25 March 1963. Ben-Gurion likewise left office, three months later.

DANIN, EZRA (1903–1985). A citrus farmer, born in Jaffa, Danin lived in Hadera, Israel. From 1933 to 1934, he headed the Arab Department in the Jewish Agency. Because of his excellent relations with the Arab community in Palestine, he was asked by the Haganah underground militia to investigate the murder of two Jews killed by Arabs in an ambush on the Hadera-Qalqilya road in the early summer of 1936. Impressed by his detection of the perpetrators, the leaders of the Haganah asked Danin to establish an Arab Department in the Haganah for collecting and interpreting information on the Arabs in Palestine. After the establishment of the **Information Service** (Shai) in 1940, the Arab Department was incorporated into the Shai.

Danin was intelligence minded and adopted a scientific approach, analyzing every fact and every incident to distinguish an ally from an enemy. He may be regarded as the man who laid foundations for the establishment of the intelligence organization within the Haganah. Nevertheless, Danin retained his independent status and was never formally employed by the Haganah.

DAR, AVRAHAM (1919–?). Born in Petah-Tikva, Israel, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Dar worked for the **Mossad**

Le'Aliyah Beth in Europe. After World War II, he operated in Arab countries, and in the fighting in Palestine for the creation of the State of Israel, Dar was a member of the Palmah underground militia. After the establishment of the state, he became an intelligence officer in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), in which he served in the 1948–1949 War of Independence. After the war, Dar retired from the IDF but was recruited again in 1951, now as an intelligence officer in **Unit 131** with the rank of major.

In the summer of 1951, Dar was secretly sent to Egypt in the guise of a British businessman representing an electronics company. His assumed name was John Darling, born in Gibraltar to a British father and a Spanish mother, which would account for his un-English appearance. In Egypt he worked secretly with the emissaries of the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth. Dar succeeded in recruiting young Egyptian Jews for an espionage network. He left Egypt at the end of August 1951, leaving behind two cells of an espionage network, each with an officer in command and with a radio transmitter for contacting Israel. These operatives were later involved in the **Bad Business**.

After the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, Dar, together with **Aryeh (Lova) Eliav**, directed the **Tushia Operation**, aimed at contacting the Jews of Egypt and persuading them to leave the country for Israel. Dar resigned from IDF intelligence in 1957 in protest at the inability of the Israeli government to force Egypt to free the prisoners of the Jewish espionage network.

DARLING, JOHN. *See* BAD BUSINESS; DAR, AVRAHAM.

DASSA, ROBERT NISSIM (1932–). An Egyptian-born Jew, Dassa received a Zionist education at a religious Jewish school in Alexandria. He later worked for a Jewish import-export company. In 1951 he was recruited to the Alexandria cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt. He traveled secretly through Europe to Israel to undergo brief military training for the espionage mission. Dassa took part in planting an explosive device in the Rio Cinema in Cairo on 23 July 1954. He was arrested following the **Bad Business** and was tried and sentenced to 15 years in prison. After 14 years in jail, the prisoner exchange following the 1967 **Six-Day War** secured his release, together with the rest of the network's prisoners. They were allowed to leave

Egypt for Europe, and thereafter they traveled to Israel. On 30 March 2005 Dassa was accorded recognition by Israeli president Moshe Katsav and the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General **Moshe Ya'alon**, for his services to the state and for his years of suffering.

DAYEKH, HAYDER. Dayekh was a Lebanese from the Jouaya who cooperated with the **Israeli Security Agency** after the Israel Defense Forces invaded Lebanon in 1982. He was listed in a group of 45 collaborators by the Lebanese National Resistance. The list was hung on wall posters and distributed in the occupied zone in Lebanon. In January 1985 a Palestinian emptied a whole pistol magazine into Dayekh's stomach and killed him. Lebanon in the 1980s had become an area of brutality.

DEKEL, EPHRAIM (1903–1982). Born Ephraim Krasner in Russia, Dekel immigrated to Israel in 1921. He set up the **Information Service** (Shai) in Tel Aviv in 1934 and headed it until 1946. The Tel Aviv organization was established before the Shai was formed nationally in Jewish Palestine in 1940. In the Shai, Dekel monitored British radio and telephone communications, with the assistance of mathematically inclined Shai members able to decipher the British codes, which were normally changed weekly. In 1946 he was dispatched to Europe to organize the activities of the **Briha** (Escape) of Jews to Israel. In Europe he was also in charge of secret arms-purchasing efforts for the Haganah underground militia in Palestine.

DEKEL, OFFER (1951–). After graduating in physics and chemistry from Hebrew University in Jerusalem (he holds an academic degree in law as well), the Israeli-born Dekel was recruited in 1975 to the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) as a case officer. In January 1977 he served in Ramallah, and following the 1982 Peace for Galilee Operation, he served in southern Lebanon. In July 2000 Dekel headed the Jerusalem region, which was responsible for the West Bank as well. He served in this position during the tough years of the Palestinian uprising known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada. His last position in the ISA, until May 2005, was as deputy director. He contested **Yuval Diskin** for the directorship of the ISA, which in the end went to Diskin.

DEPARTMENT OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

DEVIL'S ADVOCATE/IPKHA MISTABRA. Following the recommendation of the **Agranat Commission** in 1973–1974), a Control Unit was established in **Military Intelligence** (MI) of the Israel Defense Forces. The unit is expected to play the Devil's advocate, producing a range of explanations and assessments of events to avoid any reliance on a single "**concept**," as was the case on the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. The Control Unit is composed of two officers, subordinate to the director of MI and not to the head of the Research Division, so as not to be influenced by that commander or feel obliged to provide the same assessment as his. The Control Unit officers may produce alternative assessments on any topic they choose or choose topics according to instructions given to them.

DICHTER, AVRAHAM (AVI) (1953–). Born in Ashkelon, Israel, in his national service in the Israel Defense Forces, Dichter served in the elite **Sayeret Matkal** unit. Soon after demobilization, he joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), steadily rising through the ranks to the highest echelons. In 2000 he was appointed director of the ISA. Concluding his service in 2005, Dichter's legacy is a security service system that contained Palestinian **terrorism**.

Dichter led the ISA with great success during the difficult period of the second Palestinian uprising, the so-called Al-Aqsa Intifada. Under his directorship, the ISA had to tackle various kinds of Palestinian terrorism, including suicide bombers, as well as the potential terrorism of extremist Jews who could even undertake the most extreme measure of blowing up Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Dichter supported the building of a security fence between Israel and the Palestinians as a barrier to terrorism—even if, as he himself said, it already appears obsolete.

DIRECTORATE OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

DIRECTOR OF SECURITY FOR THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT (DSDE). The DSDE is the head of a certain unit in the Israeli Defense Ministry known by its Hebrew acronym MALMAB; however,

the full title of this unit is not known exactly on account of its ultrasecrecy. The closest possible Hebrew phrase for this acronym is Memuneh Al Ha'Bitahon Be'Ma'arekhet Ha'Bitahon. When MALMAB was established is also a matter of conjecture. Some claim that it was set up in 1974. However, according to certain documents recently released by the Defense Ministry, MALMAB was created in the 1960s as part of the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** (LAKAM). It was so secret that it could be referred to in the Israeli press only as "Y."

MALMAB is apparently responsible for physical security of the Defense Ministry and its research facilities, including the nuclear reactor at Dimona. MALMAB is also charged with preventing leaks from the Israeli security institutions, including the **Mossad** and the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). MALMAB, together with Security Support (Siyua Bithoni, or SIBAT) in the Ministry of Defense, closely supervises Israeli arms manufacturers, whose aim is to sell as many arms as possible. This supervision is aimed at reducing any potential damage caused by spreading Israeli weapons technology too far around the world.

The first DSDE was **Chaim Carmon**. MALMAB was then a small unit under the authority of the ISA. Carmon frequently met **Avraham Shalom**, then head of the security section of the ISA, and **Avraham Ahituv**, director of the ISA. Carmon received his instructions from these two men.

In the mid-1980s MALMAB failed in securing the Dimona nuclear reactor. A joint internal investigation by the ISA and MALMAB after the disclosure of the **Mordechai Vanunu** affair concluded that no one was directly responsible for the lapse, and no one was held accountable for the fact that the information on Vanunu's political activities at Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheba—his relations with Arab students and his comments critical of Israel's nuclear policy—never sounded a warning bell among those responsible for the security of the most secret facility in Israel. **Yehiel Horev** represented MALMAB on the investigating committee; Avner Barnea represented the ISA. Clearly, the committee's work was a whitewash.

Prior to the Vanunu affair, in the early 1980s Carmon's name was mentioned as the person appointed at the Defense Ministry to take overall charge of MALMAB, SIBAT, and LAKAM; Horev was appointed DSDE sometime in 1986 or 1987. Soon after Horev took of-

fice, Carmon resigned his position because of health problems. Horev then transformed MALMAB into a large organization with very extensive authority. Under Horev, direct or indirect MALMAB operatives increased in number to well beyond 1,000 security officers at Israeli defense installations and industries around the country.

Horev himself investigated the most renowned cases of leaks of highly sensitive security information. He investigated Avner Cohen, an Israeli historian and author of *Israel and the Bomb*, about his sources and motives in writing the book, on Cohen's return from self-imposed exile in Washington, D.C. This was Israel's first-ever criminal process involving academic research. In 2001 Yitzhak Ya'acov, a former head of Israeli defense research and development, was secretly arrested and interrogated by MALMAB for writing his memoirs. Among other things, MALMAB was responsible for perpetually pushing back **Vanunu**'s release date after his conviction and imprisonment and keeping Israel's entire nuclear weapons program under complete secrecy. MALMAB obsessively opposed the publication of any uncensored material on the Israeli nuclear program.

Yet for all its enormous power MALMAB is not an autonomous intelligence organization, in contrast to the Mossad or the ISA. David Ivri, a former director-general of the Defense Ministry who was in charge of MALMAB, even claimed that the MALMAB is not an intelligence organization at all, as it does not engage in any collecting of information. More than once, Horev has clashed with the actual Israeli intelligence organizations, especially the ISA. The argument against the MALMAB is that Israeli law does not authorize MALMAB to conduct interrogations, the domain only of the Israel Police and the ISA. In response, MALMAB has stated that it merely carries out a "preliminary check," although the difference between this and actual interrogation seems slim to none.

MALMAB and the current DSDE, Yehiel Horev, might well have remained secret but for the fact that in early 2000 the Israeli-Arab Knesset member Issam Mahoul, of the Hadash party, identified Horev as the last unnamed member of a secret group of civil servants.

DISKIN, YUVAL (1956–). Diskin served in the Israel Defense Forces in the Shaked Reconnaissance Unit (1974–1978). He joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) in May 1978 as a field agent in the West Bank

and rose through the ranks without taking any shortcuts. From 1979 to 1984, he was coordinator for the Nablus District. During Peace for Galilee Operation, Diskin served in Beirut and Sidon. In 1984, he was appointed district coordinator and served in that capacity in Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm until the end of 1989. In August 1990, he was appointed director of the Department for Counterterrorism in the Arab Affairs Branch. From 1993 to 1997, Diskin was involved in establishing clandestine links with the leaders of the Palestinian security services, becoming director of the Arab Affairs Branch in August 1994. In May 1997, Diskin was appointed director of the Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria Region and served in this capacity until June 2000.

Diskin served as deputy director of the ISA, **Avraham (Avi) Dichter**, from 2000 until 31 August 2003, his term coinciding with the beginning of the second Palestinian uprising, the Al-Aqsa Intifada. He was responsible for developing the "targeted killing" doctrine used to eliminate wanted Palestinian **terrorists**. He took a two-year leave of absence for studies in the National Security Program at the University of Haifa, obtaining his M.A. degree cum laude. In May 2005 Diskin was appointed director of the ISA for a five-year term.

DORF, MICHAEL. Dorf was a **Mossad** agent and a member of the team assigned to assassinate **Ali Hassan Salameh** in 1973. The team erroneously identified Ahmed Bouchiki as Salameh and shot him dead in what became known as the **Lillehammer Affair**. *See also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

DOROTH, IZI (1916–1980). Born Isidore Roth in Poland, he immigrated to Palestine in 1936 and studied at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Doroth served in the Jewish Settlements Police Force and during World War II volunteered for the British army. In the final phase of the British Mandate in Palestine (1947–1948), he served in the **Information Service** of the Haganah underground militia. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Doroth jointed the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and served as deputy to director **Isser Harel** from 1948 to 1949. After the establishment of the **Mossad** in 1949, Doroth was seconded by Harel to the Mossad and served as deputy to the organization's director, **Reuven Shiloah**. Doroth was responsible for coordination between the Mossad and the ISA. Harel caused

Doroth's transfer to the Mossad probably in order to maintain some kind of watch on the Mossad. Doroth's Mossad code name was Dafni.

After Harel replaced Shiloah as director of the Mossad in 1952, Doroth was given the directorship of the ISA. He served in this position until 1953, when he returned to the Mossad as deputy to Harel until 1963. This time around, Doroth was responsible for liaison between the Mossad and friendly foreign intelligence organizations. After leaving the Mossad in 1963, he went into private business.

DRUSE ESPIONAGE NETWORK. *See* GRABLI, RAPHAEL.

DUMMY COMPANIES. From the start, Israeli intelligence set up dummy companies worldwide, behind which it conducted secret activities. Before the establishment of the State of Israel, the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** created dummy shipping and airline companies to bring Jewish immigrants to Palestine. One such company was called Oniot U'Sfinot Ba'am (Ships and Vessels Ltd.). In West Germany the **Mossad** set up several dummy companies, one of which was Inverko. Its official purpose was to promote business, but its actual and clandestine aim was to recruit agents for the Mossad in Europe.

In the United States, the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** used the **Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation** (NUMEC) in the late 1950s for obtaining uranium for Israel. Isotopes and Radiation Enterprises (ISORAD) was another dummy corporation in the United States. ISORAD was owned half by NUMEC and half by the Israeli government. Officially ISORAD was engaged in developing techniques to preserve fruit through irradiation; in reality, it served as the pipeline for obtaining uranium from NUMEC for the Israeli **nuclear weapons program**.

In late December 1969 Admiral Mordechai Limon, head of the Israeli military purchasing mission in France, took steps to form a dummy company for the purpose of stealing the Cherbourg boats in the **Noah Ark's Operation**.

In Asmara, Eritrea, the Israeli Ministry of Defense set up the wholly Israeli dummy company **Incoda**. Officially its business was exporting Ethiopian beef. In fact Incoda was a station of Israeli intelligence in Africa.

– E –

EBAN, ABBA (1915–2002). Born in Cape Town, South Africa, and brought up in England, Eban studied oriental languages at Cambridge University. In 1938 he immigrated to Palestine, where he lived until his death. During Word War II Eban held the rank of major, serving on the staff of the British minister of state in Cairo. Later he served as an intelligence officer in Jerusalem. During his service, Eban trained Jewish volunteers for resistance in the event Germany invaded Palestine.

In 1947 Eban was the liaison of the Jewish Agency to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine and a member of the Jewish Agency's delegation to the General Assembly, which was instrumental in securing the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine.

After the State of Israel was created, Eban was Israel's representative to the United Nations, a position he held for nine years (1950–1959). He was concurrently Israel's ambassador to the United States in Washington, D.C. In his exchanges with other delegates at the United Nations, Eban represented Israel exceptionally well. In 1959 Eban was elected a member of the Knesset. He served for some time as minister of education in the Labor government of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. From 1966 until 1974 Eban was Israel's foreign minister. In May 1967, on the eve of the **Six-Day War**, he held intensive talks with leaders in France, Britain, and the United States, in an effort to win support for Israel.

EICHMANN'S CAPTURE. One of the renowned operations of the **Mossad** was finding and capturing the Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann, who was the architect of the Final Solution of the so-called Jewish problem in Europe. This "solution" was to concentrate all the Jews in ghettoes and ship them to special camps for extermination. In the fall of 1957, an Israeli diplomat named Walter Eytan received a phone call from Fritz Bauer, a public prosecutor in West Germany, informing him that Eichmann was alive and living in Argentina, probably under an assumed name. No other information was known at the time.

Later the Mossad learned that a young man presumed to be one of Eichmann's sons, called Nicholas, had become involved with an Argentinean Jewish girl. Apparently not knowing that she was Jewish, he bragged to her about his father's role in the Final Solution in Eu-

rope and bemoaned the fact that the Nazis were unable to "finish the job." Nicholas also used the family name Eichmann openly at times. Mossad agents in Buenos Aires followed up on this information, and although they were able to verify that one of Eichmann's sons was indeed in Argentina with his father, they found that Eichmann no longer lived at the address they had been given. The investigation proceeded slowly and delicately so as not to reveal that any search for Eichmann was ongoing and risk losing him or capturing the wrong man. Eichmann had carefully destroyed all evidence of his former identity, even removing the tattoo that all SS men had in their left armpit.

In late 1959, it was discovered that after the war Eichmann had changed his name to Ricardo Klement, though his sons apparently still used their family name at times. It also became known that Eichmann for a while had run a laundry business, which went bankrupt, but this information contributed little to locating him. Mossad agents followed Nicholas's trail, which led to a house on Garibaldi Street in the San Fernando section of Buenos Aires. The house was kept under constant surveillance and photographed from every angle in order to learn Eichmann's habits. On 21 March 1960, the final proof was obtained. That evening Ricardo Klement got off the bus and walked slowly toward his home, holding a bunch of flowers. He handed the bouquet to the woman who greeted him at the door. Their children were dressed for a special occasion: March 21 was the date of the Eichmanns' silver wedding anniversary.

The Mossad team in Tel Aviv prepared a plan for taking Eichmann and for flying him out of Argentina with forged documents. Every detail was worked out and every contingency planned for with the team in Argentina. In May 1960, Argentina was celebrating its 150th year of independence. **Isser Harel** decided to send a larger number of Mossad employees to the country, as if visiting for the anniversary celebration. Altogether, there were more than 30 members in the team, each handpicked by Harel for his or her proven qualities, developed over years of undercover intelligence work. Nothing was left to chance.

In order to ensure that there would not be any problems with documents, airline connections, visas, health certificates, or character references for the unit's members, a small-scale travel agency was set

up by the Mossad in an unidentified European city so as to avoid any connection with Israel. Harel was well aware that Israel would be violating Argentinean sovereignty by abducting Eichmann. Moreover, Argentina—and South America generally—had become a safe haven for Nazis and their sympathizers since the end of World War II. The Argentineans could cause trouble for the Israelis if they got wind of the plan.

The Israeli agents began to fly in from all over the globe. No two came from the same city. They rented safe houses and constantly changed cars to mislead anyone who might be watching them or who might get suspicious. Harel himself arrived in Argentina with rising star **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan** to supervise the capture. Harel correctly predicted that Eichmann's family would not go public about his disappearance because it would almost certainly expose his true identity.

On 11 May 1960, the Mossad operatives were ready to go into action. They had been shadowing Eichmann's every move for some time. They knew that he arrived home from work at about 7:40 P.M., and they were in place by 7:35 P.M. Two Mossad operatives pretended to tinker with their car engine. Another car was parked about 30 yards behind the first one, also with the hood up and the occupants fiddling with the engine. A cyclist stopped to offer them assistance, an offer that was politely but firmly refused. At 8:10 P.M., Eichmann alighted from a bus and began walking toward Garibaldi Street. The Mossad agents grabbed Eichmann and put him into a car.

Eichmann was kept for a week in a room in the safe house. In order to move him out of the safe house to board an El Al flight, Eichmann was dressed in a spare El Al crew uniform and injected with a drug to make him sleep. Rafi Eitan and the team of Mossad agents accompanied him onto the plane, all dressed in El Al crew uniforms. At five minutes past midnight on 21 May 1961, the plane carrying Eichmann took off for Tel Aviv.

After a lengthy trial, Adolf Eichmann was found guilty of crimes against humanity and was executed a year later, on 31 May 1962. *See also* KASTNER, ISRAEL.

***EILAT*'S SINKING.** On 12 October 1967 the Israeli Navy destroyer *Eilat* was on a routine patrol starting at Ashdod port in Israel. It continued off El Arish and ended at Port Said at the northern entrance to

the Suez Canal. There the ship was ambushed by an Egyptian missile boat and sunk. Of the destroyer's complement of 200, 47 were killed and about 100 wounded. The commander of the *Eilat*, Lieutenant Colonel Yitzhak Shoshan, was wounded in the attack.

The British-built destroyer had been launched in 1944. It saw action in World War II, escorting supply convoys in the Arctic. In 1955 the British government agreed to secretly sell to Israel the ship, which was renamed *Eilat*, and another destroyer of the same class, the *Yaffo* (Jaffa). The price of each was £35,000. The destroyers were overhauled and adapted for Israeli use in British shipyards and then mobilized for operational service in the Israeli Navy. Shortly after reaching Haifa, the *Eilat* was sent into action in the 1956 **Sinai campaign** in the battle to capture the Egyptian destroyer *Ibrahim al-Awal*, afterward renamed the *Haifa*.

The day before the *Eilat* was sunk, Captain David Leviatan of the signals intelligence (SIGINT) Unit 515 (today **Unit 8200)** in Israel's **Military Intelligence** (MI) had intercepted a message revealing that the Egyptians had discovered the patrol and knew of the presence of the Israeli destroyer at the limit of their territorial waters. There was also information indicating Egypt's intention to carry out a maritime attack. Two versions exist concerning this advance alert. One maintains that the reports reached the commander of the *Eilat*, Lieutenant Colonel Yitzhak Shoshan, in time to save his ship and his crew. The other states that Unit 515 did not convey the advance alert. Investigations that followed the sinking of the *Eilat* were unable to decide between the two versions.

Unit 515 was then commanded by **Yoel Ben-Porat**. It was a small outfit compared with its large and prestigious present-day successor, Unit 8200. It had two main sections: SIGINT, which tried to pick up messages of enemy armies, and Deciphering Intelligence, whose personnel had the task of making sense of what was contained in the messages. Leviatan said that his section, Shofar (Trumpet), consisted at that time of five officers in national service whose task was to transmit the information that was picked up and deciphered by the unit to many consumers. Leviatan, as a regular officer, reinforced Shofar on the day the *Eilat* was attacked and sunk.

It is almost certain that on the day the destroyer was sunk, MI succeeded in acquiring two pieces of information that in retrospect

indicated clearly that the Egyptians intended to carry out a maritime operation against Israel. One report disclosed that a state of alert had been declared in the artillery units on the Egyptian coast near Port Said, the other that an Egyptian helicopter had detected the *Eilat*. However, the two most important items arrived between two and three hours before the Egyptian missiles were launched. One was an order stating that firing from the harbor of Port Said was prohibited, but that authorization existed for firing outside the port. The second was a directive declaring a high alert in all Egyptian naval forces in the Port Said sector.

But there was a breakdown of communications between Unit 515 and Department Yam 4, the abbreviated name of the **Naval Intelligence Squadron**. The secure teleprinter connecting these two units was out of order, so the message was not transmitted. Leviatan, the duty officer that day in Unit 515, maintained that he had conveyed the messages over the telephone to Yam 4. The officer in Yam 4, however, asserted that it did not reach him. Although it was well-nigh impossible to decide between the two versions, the credibility of the officer in Yam 4 was deemed greater. The recommendation was therefore that the officers of MI Unit 515 stand a disciplinary court-martial for not ascertaining that the information had in fact reached its destination. Leviatan was tried and given a reprimand.

EITAN, RAFAEL (RAFI) (1926–). Born in Kibbutz Ein Harod, Israel, Eitan is known by his Hebrew nickname *Ha'Masriah* (Stinker). In the years before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he was a member of the Palmah underground militia. Serving in Israel's War of Independence, Eitan was wounded; subsequently he joined **Military Intelligence** of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). After retiring from the IDF, Eitan joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), then under the directorship of **Isser Harel**. Eitan headed the ISA Operations Branch. After Harel became director of the **Mossad**, Eitan too moved to this organization. He did not miss a single important operation, sending letter bombs to the German scientists in Egypt in the 1960s and leading the Mossad team in **Eichmann's Capture** in 1960. Eitan also handled **Eli Cohen**, the Israeli spy in Syria. He headed the Mossad's Metsada Unit (formerly known as Caesarea).

Eitan resigned from the Mossad in the early 1970s in disappointment at not being promoted to its directorship. In 1976, when Ariel Sharon was appointed adviser on security to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, he made Eitan, a close friend, his assistant. Eitan left for private business after Sharon ended his job as adviser, but had no success.

In July 1978 Prime Minister Menachem Begin appointed Eitan his adviser on counterterrorism. His reputation in the ISA and the Mossad made him the perfect coordinator between the two organizations on matters of counterterrorism. During this phase of Eitan's career, the Mossad succeeded in killing **Ali Hassan Salameh** in Beirut. After Sharon was appointed minister of defense in 1981, he again found a place for Eitan, as director of the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** (LAKAM). In this position, Eitan set in motion the Pollard affair: he recruited **Jonathan Jay Pollard** as a "walk-in" volunteer, knowing the risks of activating an American Jew as a spy in the United States. With the approval of the IDF chief of the General Staff, Eitan made Israel Air Force pilot Colonel **Aviam Sella** Pollard's case officer. This operation proved a fiasco, and the affair led to the disbanding of LAKAM.

EKSTEIN, ZE'EV. *See* KASTNER, ISRAEL.

ELAD, AVRAHAM (AVRI) (1925–1993). Born Avraham Seidenwerg in Vienna, in 1939 he immigrated to Palestine and changed his family name to the Hebrew Elad. He served in the British army in World War II and later helped the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** in bringing Jews to Palestine. Before the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, Elad served as a driver in the Palmah underground. Thereafter he enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and reached the rank of major, but was discharged and demoted to private after stealing a refrigerator from his unit.

In 1952 Elad was recruited to **Unit 131** of the IDF for a risky espionage mission in Egypt. **Mordechai (Motke) Ben-Tsur**, commander of Unit 131, knew that Elad was then divorced and unemployed and wanted rehabilitation in the army. Accordingly Ben-Tsur decided that he would be the right man for this risky job, and in 1953 he was given command of a Jewish espionage network in Egypt. To authenticate his cover story, Elad was sent briefly to West Germany,

where he even underwent a very painful operation to reverse his circumcision. In December 1953 Elad, under the assumed name Paul Frank, a supposedly wealthy German businessman representing the dummy import-export company Inverko, arrived in Cairo. He was quickly accepted by and merged into the flourishing expatriate German community in Egypt.

There Elad contacted all the members of the Jewish espionage network, who knew him only by his code name "Robert." He soon got to know all of them by name and even visited at their homes. He commanded the sabotage actions they carried out. The mission, which soon failed, came to be known in Israel as the **Bad Business**. All the members of the Jewish network were caught by the Egyptians, but Elad made his escape with great ease, even haggling with Egyptian customs officials over the weight of his car on his departure and taking time to visit a repair shop to have the vehicle's fender removed to make it lighter. In Egypt he was sentenced to death in absentia.

The Director of the **Mossad**, **Isser Harel**, suspected Elad of being a double agent and betraying the Jewish network, conveying its members' names to the Egyptian authorities—a suspicion that ultimately proved well founded. When exactly he betrayed the Jewish spy network and when exactly he became a double agent are still open questions whose answers will probably never be known.

Nevertheless, after the Bad Business, Elad was stationed by director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), Colonel **Binyamin Gibli**, in West Germany, despite Harel's suspicion that he was a traitor. Major General **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, who replaced Gibli as DMI, continued to believe in Elad's loyalty. In Germany, Elad continued to use the name Paul Frank despite the fact that "Paul Frank" had been sentenced to death in Egypt. He likewise continued to represent Inverko, albeit now in West Germany. His actual job was to recruit operatives and agents in Europe and set up other **dummy companies**, all for Israeli intelligence. The chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Moshe Dayan, even granted him the rank of captain in the IDF. Without informing Harkabi, Harel sent a Mossad agent, **David (Dave) Kimche**, to Europe to find evidence against Elad, and it was found. In West Germany, Kimche found out from his sources, with proof, that in Egypt Elad had been in touch with the head of Egyptian intelligence, Osman Nuri. Elad had

maintained his connection with Nuri, now Egyptian military attaché in West Germany, and even sold him classified IDF documents.

Elad was recalled to Israel on a pretext. Once there, he was detained and interrogated about his contacts with a foreign intelligence agent. However, he was not questioned about betrayal of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt. The reason for the omission was largely internal political circumstances in Israel. Such an interrogation might have opened a Pandora's box concerning who gave instructions to carry out the sabotage acts in Egypt against Western targets; it was a kind of cover-up. Elad was found guilty of being in contact with Nuri and was sentenced to 12 years in prison; on appeal to the Supreme Court, his sentence was reduced to 10 years.

In prison Elad was known only as X4. In the neighboring cell in Ramle jail was another Israeli spy, **Mordechai (Motke) Kedar**, who was also a criminal and a murderer. The two played chess through the thick wall by tapping Morse code on it. Elad's identity was long kept highly classified by the Israeli censor. When the Israeli press referred to the Bad Business, without precise details, he was presented only as the "third man."

After his release from prison, Elad left Israel for Los Angeles, where he later died of cancer.

ELIAV, ARYEH (LOVA) (1921–). Born in Moscow, Eliav immigrated to Palestine as an infant in 1924. He joined the Jewish Haganah underground in 1936 and later volunteered for the British army (1941–1945). After the establishment of the State of Israel, he served in the Israeli Navy and retired with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Eliav had a wide experience in clandestine activities. In summer 1958 he was stationed in Moscow as a **Nativ** agent under a diplomatic cover at the Israeli embassy. In this job, he was secretly engaged in sending pocket-size Jewish calendars and Hebrew-Russian dictionaries, Bibles, and Hebrew newspapers to Jews in the Soviet Union, knowing that the Soviet authorities considered such material antistate propaganda.

On 9 November 1956, after the **Sinai Campaign**, Eliav was seconded to the **Mossad** for a special purpose: to command the **Tushia Operation**, bringing the Jews of Port Said safely to Israel. Eliav, together with Major **Avraham Dar** of **Military Intelligence**, appeared

in the town wearing French uniforms. The Jews of Port Said soon realized that the two were Israeli secret agents.

In the summer of 1966, Eliav, now the deputy to the minister of trade and industry, was dispatched secretly by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol to Kurdish areas of Iraq to contact the Kurdish leader Mustafa Barazani. This mission was a part of the Israeli **Periphery Doctrine**, the creation of friendly contacts with elements in the Middle East opposed to the Arab governments. Eliav's mission was to offer Israeli assistance to Barazani in his conflict with the Iraq authorities. Eliav served as a member of Knesset and deputy minister from 1966 to 1968.

EL-WAZIR, KHALIL. *See* ABU JIHAD.

ENGINEER, THE. *See* AYASH, YAHYA.

ENTEBBE OPERATION. *See* YEHONATHAN OPERATION.

EROS PROJECT. *See* OFEQ SATELLITES.

ESEK HA'BISH. *See* BAD BUSINESS.

EZRA, GIDEON (1937–). Ezra was born in Israel and holds a bachelor's degree in geography and political science from the University of Haifa. He served in the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) from 1962 to 1995. His last position was as the ISA's deputy director. After his resignation in 1995, he was appointed adviser to the minister of internal security. In 1996 Ezra was elected to the Knesset. He has served on various Knesset committees, including the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He has been minister of internal security since 29 November 2004.

EZRA AND NEHEMIA OPERATION. The Ezra and Nehemiah Operation was the name given to the smuggling of 12,400 Jews from Iraq to Israel between 1950 and early 1952. Their departure from Iraq had to be clandestine, despite the passage by the Iraqi government in 1951 of a special bill permitting their emigration and even though they had to sell their property and liquidate their businesses before they could leave. The operation brought almost all the Iraqi Jews to Israel, first

by way of Cyprus in mid-May 1951, and later directly to Israel in a giant airlift operated directly from Baghdad to Lod airport near Tel Aviv. *See also* BARNETT, RONALD; BEN-PORAT, MORDECHAI.

– F –

FAILED BERN ACTION. Shortly after 2:00 A.M. on the morning of 19 February 1998, **Mossad** agents were caught red-handed while trying to plant listening devices in an apartment in Bern, Switzerland. A resident called the police to complain of unusual movements in the apartment block. At 2:20 A.M. the Swiss police arrived and arrested Ben Tal, Dan Shifrin, and Sheli Rivlin (two men and a woman, respectively). All of them presented Israeli passports. The police found that Tal was holding a diplomatic bag that was not fully sealed. Inside were listening devices.

As the police checked the detainees in the entrance to the building, a commotion was heard in the street nearby. A certain Daniela Tefler and her "boyfriend" Ron Meltzer were sitting in a parked car. Tefler shouted, "Heart attack! Call an ambulance!" The event was intended as a diversionary tactic, but the police did not let go of the detainees. They were taken for interrogation.

It was learned that Tal had already penetrated the building a month earlier for a similar purpose. His mission was to monitor the telephone in the apartment belonging to Abdulla Al-Zayn, a key figure in the Hizbullah movement in Europe. The device worked on the principle of conveying his intercepted calls to another telephone through a cellular phone of a Swiss mobile phone company.

The Swiss authorities downplayed the incident. Only Tal remained in custody. Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu pledged to do his best to secure his release. Switzerland had very close military relations with Israel and was considered a major consumer of Israeli military products; the incident might have caused diplomatic embarrassment. This debacle, following the 1997 **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco**, led to the resignation of the director of the Mossad, **Danny Yatom**.

After two months in custody, Tal was released on bail of three million Swiss francs on condition that he would return to Switzerland for the trial. The Israeli government deposited the bail. On 7 July 2000

the trial began in camera in a Swiss federal court in Lausanne. Ben Tal was convicted and sentenced to a one-year suspended prison term and to deportation from Switzerland, in addition to paying costs of 100,000 Swiss francs. He was released and returned to Israel.

Al-Zayn denied any connections to Hizbullah. He subsequently acquired Swiss citizenship by paying the large sum that obtaining that status required—the money most probably paid by the Mossad to forestall Al-Zayn's possible civil suit against Tal.

FEINBERG, AVSHALOM (?–1917). One of the founders of **NILI**, a secret intelligence network set up during World War I. In January 1917, Feinberg and **Yosef Lishansky,** disguised as Bedouins, attempted to enter Egypt by land. They were ambushed by Bedouins close to El Arish, near the British front in the Sinai Peninsula. Feinberg was killed and Lishansky was wounded, but he found his way to the British lines and joined **Aharon Aaronsohn**.

In 1967, during the **Six-Day War**, Israeli soldiers came upon a date palm which had been named "The Grave of the Jew" by the desert nomads. Upon investigation, it was revealed that the Jew buried under the tree was Avshalom Feinberg and that the tree had grown from a date in his pocket. Feinberg's body was exhumed and reburied on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem among the graves of Israel's heroes.

FIELD SECURITY. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AUTHORITY/RASHUT LE'MODI'IN BE'HUL. *See* CENTER FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH; MOSSAD.

FRANK, PAUL. *See* BAD BUSINESS; ELAD, AVRAHAM (AVRI).

FRANK, YA'ACOV (1913–1993). Ya'acov Frank was a member of the Haganah in his youth. During World War II, he fought in the U.S. Army in the Philippines and was seriously wounded, for which he was awarded U.S. citizenship and a lifelong pension. During his sojourn in New York, Frank was an operative of the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**, engaged in acquiring cargo vessels aboard which he smuggled illegal immigrants from Europe to Palestine. In Israel's War of Inde-

pendence, he enlisted in the Israel Defense Forces, and after demobilization, with the rank of major, he established a small spring manufacturing plant.

In 1951 Frank was dispatched to Iraq, where he was supposed to take command of a network of agents. Frank knew that he could not use his U.S. passport so he suggested creating the cover of a Canadian businessman. He had lived in Canada and was fluent in English.

On meeting his contact in Tehran, Frank asked him whom he was supposed to be working for—Aliyah Beth? **Boris Guriel**'s Political Department? **Binyamin Gibli**'s **Military Intelligence** (MI)? The contact replied that he did not know and that he was groping in the dark. After about two months in Tehran, Frank was provided with a forged passport of the principality of Bahrain, which was under British control. Frank relates that at that time he was consumed with anger because in addition to the fact that he had not received the promised briefings, he had European, not Arab, features and no mastery whatsoever of Arabic, making his Bahraini passport suspect. He toyed with the notion of returning to Israel, but the sense of mission within him prevented him from abandoning his task.

On 20 April 1951 he slipped across the border into Iraq and reached a Jewish house in Baghdad. Frank had been assured that a message announcing that he was due to appear would be sent to the household, but after the members of the family admitted him, with great suspicion, he realized that no such message had been conveyed. Among the members of that household was **Mordechai Ben-Porat**, the representative of Aliyah Beth in Baghdad. Frank managed to convince the people in the house of his actual identity and his mission, but he was surprised when Ben-Porat, whom Frank had been sent to replace, told him that he refused to comply with the instruction. Overcoming his exasperation, Frank went to lodge in a Baghdad hotel and then returned to Israel via Lebanon and Turkey. Years later Frank described his mission and the behavior of the system unflatteringly: "They operated amateurishly and irresponsibly, such that it almost cost me my life; the right hand had no idea what the left hand was doing. Disorder reigned everywhere. My luck was that the Iraqis were worse than us."

After this debacle and another of the uncovering of the Aliyah Beth network in Iraq and the execution of many of its agents, **Reuven**

Shiloah decided that there was no longer any need for the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth.

FRAUENKNECHT, ALFRED. In the late 1960s, Frauenknecht, a Swiss-Jewish engineer, stole 200,000 blueprints and the specifications for the precise machine tools used in the manufacture of the French-Swiss Mirage III fighter aircraft. He passed them to Israel, which used the blueprints to build the Kfir fighter plane.

Obtaining the Mirage blueprints was a joint operation of the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** (LAKAM) and the Israel Air Force. LAKAM knew about, and exploited, Frauenknecht's need of money, but also his ideological motive for assisting Israel. His first handler was the Israeli attaché in Paris, Colonel Dov Sion. To expedite matters, Frauenknecht had his nephew help him photocopy the blueprints and place the copies in agreed boxes. LAKAM's agents collected the copies and took them to West Germany and thence to Israel. Frauenknecht claimed that he was promised $l million for the blueprints but got only $200,000.

Frauenknecht's activities became known to Swiss authorities, who arrested him in 1969. Israel disowned him and abandoned him to his fate. A Swiss judge found Frauenknecht guilty of espionage, and on 29 April 1971 he was sentenced to four and a half years in prison. However, the Swiss court was so appalled by the way that Israel had treated him that it was moved to reduce Frauenknecht's sentence as a gesture of consolation. The result was that he spent only one year in prison.

The government of Israel did not invite Frauenknecht to the ceremonial unveiling of the Kfir aircraft, which was scheduled after his release from prison on 29 April 1975. However, some Israeli pilots took pity on Frauenknecht, who was left destitute after his incarceration. They collected money for a plane ticket so that he could attend the event, which they knew would never have taken place were it not for him. Frauenknecht was present, although he was not permitted to view the unveiling of the plane from the VIP grandstand and was obliged to stand among the crowd. Even then, when top Israel officials discovered that Frauenknecht was in attendance, he was immediately asked to leave. Security staff quickly and quietly escorted him out.

The reputation of **Binyamin Blumberg** (the director of LAKAM) soared on account of his accomplishment in obtaining the Mirage III blueprints. Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan gave Blumberg full backing for his activities.

– G –

GAON, HAIM. Major Gaon, an officer in **Military Intelligence** (MI), was instructed in 1949 by the director of MI, Colonel **Binyamin Gibli**, to create an entire information-gathering apparatus in Paris, with its own agents and independent communication links to MI in Tel Aviv. In 1950 such agencies were set up in Paris as well as other European capitals.

GATTMON, ALEX. *See* MISGERET.

GAZIT, SHLOMO (1926–). Born in Turkey, Gazit immigrated to Palestine in 1933. In 1944 he volunteered for the Palmah, part of Israel's prestate militia, and then served 33 years in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). During the early 1960s, Gazit was the representative of **Military Intelligence** (MI) in Paris, replacing **Yuval Ne'eman**. After his return to Israel in 1964, Gazit headed the Research Department of MI until 1967, and following the **Six-Day War** he became the first coordinator of Israeli government operations in the administered territories (the West Bank and Gaza Strip).

After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Gazit, by now a major general, took over the directorship of MI from the disgraced Major General **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**. Gazit served in this position from 1974 to 1979.

Early in 1976 Gazit began to feel concern that a change of heart in the Arab world from belligerency to peaceful intentions would go unnoticed in Israel. In September that year he approached several foreign intelligence services, especially the Central Intelligence Agency, for their views on indicators of such a change, but nothing came of this. He then turned to the leading Israeli academic research centers. One of these was the Shiloah Institute at Tel Aviv University. MI asked its experts if they had observed any shift in the tone of Arab public statements about Israel, and if there were any normative changes in the Arabs' stance. On 14 November 1977, a few days after Egyptian president Anwar Sadat expressed his readiness to go to Jerusalem in the quest for peace, Gazit gave MI's assessment on its prospects to Israeli defense minister Ezer Weizman. He said that regardless of what the Egyptians said, MI believed that Egypt was planning war once more. This was an overestimation of the threat. Under Gazit's directorship, MI was still

suffering the trauma of its failure to provide early warning on the eve of the Yom Kippur War.

In 1981, after leaving MI, Gazit held that there was ample evidence that the Iraqis were building nuclear weapons capabilities, but in the days just preceding the Israeli raid on the Iraqi reactor, Gazit maintained that the Iraqi nuclear weapons program should have been blocked by nonmilitary measures. After retiring from MI and the IDF, Gazit was appointed coordinator of Israeli government policy on Iran, but he quit shortly afterward because of his feeling that this position was freezing the **Mossad** out of this task.

In 1988, a few years after retiring from the IDF, Gazit became affiliated with the **Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** at Tel Aviv University. He has since written extensively on Israeli and Middle Eastern military affairs.

GEDALIAH, DAVID. In 1971 Gedaliah was appointed the intelligence officer of the Southern Command of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He replaced Lieutenant Colonel **Yehoshua Saguy**. On the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Gedaliah categorically dismissed the assessment of his junior, Lieutenant **Binyamin Siman-Tov**, who through a comprehensive analysis maintained that the Egyptian military maneuvers were a camouflage and their real intention was to wage war. The **Agranat Commission** in 1973–1974 recommended that Gedaliah be barred from any position in intelligence. He continued to serve in the IDF in staff and training positions. His last post was as military attaché at the Israeli embassy in Paris. Gedaliah retired from the IDF in 1988 with the rank of brigadier general.

GEHMER, AVRAHAM. An operations officer in the **Mossad**, in 1972 Gehmer was stationed in Paris under the diplomatic cover of first secretary of the Israeli embassy. He planned the killing of **Ali Hassan Salameh**, but this operation failed because of the misidentification of Ahmed Bouchiki as Salameh in what became known as the **Lillehammer Affair**. Gehmer who was in Lillehammer, Norway, at the time of Bouchiki's assassination in July 1973 was discovered by Norwegian authorities and arrested. Gehmer was sentenced to five and a half years in prison.

GIBLI, BINYAMIN (1919–). Born in Petah Tikva, Israel, Gibli was a member of the Haganah underground militia prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. In the early 1940s Gibli was an officer of the **Information Service** (Shai) in the southern district, and from April to July 1948 he served in the Shai's northern district. On 29 June 1948 Gibli was one of the judges in a field court-martial that sentenced Meir Tobianski to death on the charge of treason (*see* TOBIANSKI AFFAIR). Gibli was head of combat intelligence in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) (1948–1949) and deputy director of **Military Intelligence** (MI) with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

In 1950 Gibli succeeded Colonel **Chaim Herzog** as the director of MI with promotion to colonel. The MI was then a department in the General Staff. Upon his appointment Gibli reorganized the department, chiefly by the reactivation of **Unit 131** against Egypt. In December 1953, during Gibli's term as director, the MI became a directorate in the General Staff instead of a department. The **Bad Business** occurred during his term as MI director.

From 1955 to 1956 Gibli served as chief of staff of the IDF Northern Command. During the **Sinai Campaign** in October 1956, Gibli commanded the Golani Brigade. He was appointed deputy to the head of the IDF Central Command in 1959 and later became the Israeli military attaché successively in the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries. Gibli retired from the IDF as a result of the Lavon Affair and went into business.

GIL, YEHUDA (1934–). Gil's father was a Jewish officer in the Italian army who continued to serve when the Fascists took power. In the 1930s, after Italy forged ties with Nazi Germany, the Italian chief of staff in an attempt to protect Jewish officers transferred them to distant parts of the Italian empire; thus Gil was born in Libya. From his childhood Yehuda Gil demonstrated his talent for languages. He spoke fluent Arabic and Italian, as well as other languages, like a mother tongue.

After arriving in Israel some time after the establishment of the State of Israel, Gil was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces. Because of his versatility with languages, he was sent to **Military Intelligence** (MI). After completing his army service, Gil started his career in the **Mossad** in 1970 as a junior case officer handling agents as sources for information. He also taught Mossad cadets a course called "Lying as

an Art." In 1975 Gil cultivated a high-ranking official in the Syrian government as a mole, who indeed provided vital information. Despite his professional accomplishments and the great esteem in which he was held, Gil became bitter toward his employers, whom he felt did not sufficiently appreciate his talents. His ambition to be promoted to the Mossad command was not realized.

At some unknown point in time, Gil allegedly began inventing information as if it came from his Syrian mole and pocketed payments intended for the latter. He rejected his superiors' suggestion to put a second handler on the mole, submitting the fabricated reports for nearly a decade, almost until his retirement from the Mossad in 1989. He then went to work for the extreme-right Israeli party Moledet, which advocated the transfer of all Arabs out of former mandatory Palestine. However, because of his sources in Syria, he continued to serve the Mossad as a consultant after his retirement.

In August 1996, when Syria's 14th Division started to move on the slopes of Mount Hermon, Gil reported to the Mossad, ostensibly from his source, that Syria was planning a military strike to recapture part of the Golan Heights from Israel. Suspicions started to circulate. Due to the pluralist structure of Israeli intelligence, Gil's reports were cross-checked with other intelligence information. In particular, MI demanded that the Mossad clarify what was going on, and it was learned that there was no substance to Gil's reports. In early 1996 Syrian leader Hafiz Assad had the opportunity to regain all of the Golan in the framework of a peace agreement with the government of Shimon Peres. Gil's fabricated reports, had they been taken seriously, might have triggered a war.

In November 1997 Gil was arrested when an internal Mossad inquiry raised suspicions about his account to his superiors of meetings he said he had held in Europe with a top Syrian army officer, but which never took place. The Israeli police found in Gil's apartment tens of thousands of dollars that the Mossad had given him to pay to his fictive source. On 11 March 1999 Gil was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison. Investigators of the Gil Affair still have not fathomed conclusively why he acted as he did; the best guesses are his extreme right-wing views or financial gain. He also might have suffered from a personality disorder.

GILLON, CARMI (1950–). Gillon was born in Jerusalem into a family most of whom were jurists. His grandfather was the only Jewish judge on the Supreme Court during the British Mandate. After Israeli statehood, his father was the state attorney and his mother was the legal adviser to the government.

Gillon studied political science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem after being demobilized from the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In 1972, while still a student, he joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), starting as a security guard. In time he was promoted to senior staff positions. In 1982 Gillon was appointed head of the Jewish section of the ISA. In this position he was involved in detecting the right-wing extremist Yonah Abrushmi, who in a disturbance against a demonstration by the Peace Now movement tossed a hand grenade that killed Emil Grinzweig, a Peace Now activist. Gillon was also involved in detecting a Jewish underground cell that perpetrated a series of sabotage acts against Palestinian mayors in the West Bank. In 1987 Gillon took sabbatical leave to study for a master's degree at the National Security College of the IDF. On graduation he was appointed to senior posts in the ISA, including head of the northern region, directing ISA operations in Lebanon.

In March 1995, at the recommendation of his predecessor **Yaakov Peri**, Gillon was made director of the ISA. His incumbency was extremely short, however, as on 4 November 1995 Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by Yigal Amir in Tel Aviv—an occurrence regarded as a grave failure on the part of the ISA unit for the safety of dignitaries. The unit did not prevent the assassin from shooting Rabin at point-blank range. Gillon, who at the time of Rabin's killing was in Paris, returned at once to Israel and submitted his resignation to Shimon Peres, although his resignation at that time was rejected.

Gillon did resign from the ISA in February 1996, after the ISA won a notable success in eliminating **Yahya Ayash**, a Palestinian terrorist known as "the Engineer." After retiring from the ISA, Gillon held various executive positions and also studied business administration at Harvard University. In 1999 he became the director of the Peres Peace Center. In July 2001 Gillon was appointed Israeli ambassador to Denmark, a posting that aroused sharp public criticism in that country because of Gillon's so-called war crimes, namely, the interrogation of Palestinian

terrorists. The events of 11 September 2001 in the United States did much to assuage Danish feelings against Gillon. On conclusion of his ambassadorial post, Gillon was elected mayor of Mevasseret Yerushalayim, a small town in the Jerusalem hills.

GINOSSAR, YOSEF (YOSSI) (1946–2004). Ginossar served as deputy director of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). During his career in the ISA, he was involved in the most infamous intelligence scandals in Israel. The first is known as the **Nafsu Affair**. In 1980 Ginossar suspected an Israel Defense Forces (IDF) officer, Lieutenant Izzat Nafsu, of treason. Under brutal torture administered by Ginossar himself, the innocent Nafsu admitted guilt. In the military court Ginossar committed perjury in denying the infliction of torture, and Nafsu was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment. An investigatory committee chaired by Justice Moshe Landau later found that Ginossar himself had had doubts as to Nafsu's guilt and yet had not shrunk from committing perjury to get him convicted. Nafsu was eventually cleared and released.

The second massive scandal was Ginossar's involvement in the **Bus 300 Affair** in 1984 in which ISA operatives killed two captured and disarmed terrorists. A semijudicial commission was set up—the so-called **Zorea Commission**—of which Ginossar was a member. He betrayed his trust and leaked information and also advised the ISA how to maneuver the committee to obliterate the truth. Ginossar was forced to retire as deputy director of the ISA in 1987, largely on account of these two scandals and his perjury.

When a Labor government returned to power in Israel in 1992, Ginossar, by then a prominent member of the Labor party, was nominated for the post of director-general of the Housing Ministry. However, the Supreme Court intervened and ordered his dismissal because of his nefarious career in the ISA. Ginossar became a private businessman. Later he acted as personal envoy of three prime ministers to the Palestinian Authority. In this capacity, he was involved in yet another scandal, namely, setting up Yasser Arafat's secret financial empire. Ginossar died at the age of 58 of cancer.

GLADNIKOFF, MARIANNE. Gladnikoff, a young Swedish woman, in 1973 was a member of **Mossad**'s team assigned to assassinate **Ali Hassan Salameh**. The team misidentified an innocent Moroccan

waiter, Ahmed Bouchiki, as Salameh in Lillehammer, Norway, and shot him to death on 21 July 1973 in what became known as the **Lillehammer Affair**. Gladnikoff, together with another team member, Dan Arbel, had rented a car in their own names for the mission. The two were arrested when they returned the car at the Oslo airport. During their interrogation, they gave the address of the apartment used by the Mossad's six other team members, and they were likewise arrested. Gladnikoff was sentenced to two and a half years in prison but was freed after 15 months. After a short visit to Israel, she returned to Sweden.

GOLDSTEIN, DALIAH (1936–). As a 19-year-old soldier, Goldstein was the secretary to Colonel **Binyamin Gibli** during the time of the **Bad Business** in 1954. Years later, Goldstein claimed that she had been ordered by her commander in **Unit 131**, Lieutenant Colonel **Mordechai (Motke) Ben-Tsur**, to retype one page of a two-page letter from Gibli to the chief of the General Staff, Moshe Dayan, so that it would appear that the minister of defense had ordered Gibli to activate the Cairo cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt.

GOREN, SHMUEL. In the early 1970s Goren was head of the Queshet Division in the **Mossad**. After the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games, Goren, together with **Michael (Mike) Harari**, was in the command group of the operation to kill Palestinian terrorists, known as the **Wrath of God Operation**. In the second half of the 1970s, he served as deputy director of the Mossad. His next position, after he retired from the Mossad, was as coordinator of government operations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

GÖRKE, HEIDE. Dr. Paul Görke was an Austrian scientist who worked in Cairo in the 1960s on developing surface-to-surface missiles for Egypt. Görke had worked in the Nazi army in World War II, and after the war he became the director of the Italian Institute of Atomic Physics and Nuclear Technology. As part of the **Damocles Operation**, two **Mossad** agents, Dr. **Otto Joklik** and **Yosef Ben-Gal**, set out to coerce Görke's daughter Heide into persuading him to leave Egypt. On 2 March 1963 Heide Görke was staying at a hotel in Basel, Switzerland. Joklik phoned her there, presenting himself as a friend.

He asked Heide to travel with him to Egypt and tell her father that his life would be in danger if he did not stop his work in Egypt. Heide went to the Swiss police, who suggested that she arrange a meeting with the "friend." When they met, she taped their conversation. The Swiss police arrested Joklik and Ben-Gal, who were sentenced to two months in jail. Since both of them had already been in custody for five months, they were released immediately after the trial.

GRABLI, RAPHAEL. Grabli joined the **Information Service** (Shai) in 1947, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. A telephone exchange operator in Tiberias, he eavesdropped on the British and Arab conversations and reported them to the local Shai commander. After the Shai's dismantling on 30 June 1948, Grabli joined **Military Intelligence**, in which he worked cultivating ties with Druse villages across the Syrian border. With his superior Aryeh Bibi, he succeeded in making these ties with the Druse a fully fledged spy network with a substantial number of Druse soldiers of the Syrian army, including a company commander and a sergeant. These Syrian operatives believed that the Israelis might one day occupy the Golan Heights, so it made sense to work for them. In 1949 Grabli took command of this unit.

The Druse operatives would cross the border to Israel from the Syrian side once every two weeks with information for Grabli. The Druse sergeant provided Grabli with the Syrian military radio communication code. In 1950 Grabli obtained from him a 10-page document outlining the redeployment of the Syrian forces along the Golan Heights based on the recommendation of the German military advisers to Syria.

The top operator was Hamoud Safadi, who customarily crossed the border himself bringing information. After an Israeli-Syrian military encounter in May 1951, Safadi told Grabli that Syria had declared a general mobilization alert for its army.

Another Druse, Kamal Kanj, offered his services to Grabli's unit but was rejected because he belonged to a rival group of Safadi's. Kanj informed the Syrian authorities about Safadi and his espionage network, and in 1951 the Druse espionage network was caught by the Syrian authorities. Safadi received the death sentence, which later was commuted to life imprisonment. Because of the brutal torture he endured, Safadi died in prison. One of Safadi's group members managed to flee to Israel in 1951. He was recruited by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and given the rank of first lieutenant.

Raphael Grabli retired from the IDF after the collapse of the Druse espionage network. After the conquest of the Golan Heights in 1967, Israel again set up a Druse espionage network there against Syria.

GREENWALD, MALKIEL. *See* KASTNER, ISRAEL.

GRODZINSKY, ZE'EV. Grodzinsky was a member of the **Information Service** (Shai) who monitored British radio and telephone communications in Palestine in the late 1930s. He gave special attention and priority to the communications of the British Criminal Investigation Department (CID). He worked with another Shai member, **Ephraim Dekel**, and with the support of mathematicians in the Haganah underground, to break the British codes, which were normally changed weekly.

GROSS, THEODORE. *See* GROSS AFFAIR.

GROSS AFFAIR. Theodore Gross was born in the early 1920s in Hungary. In his childhood he immigrated with his parents to South Africa. As a young man, he studied music in Italy and performed in opera productions in Italy and Mexico. During World War II, he served in the British army as an intelligence officer and changed his name to Ted Cross. He moved to the State of Israel after its establishment in 1948 and volunteered for the Israel Defense Forces. Through his knowledge of English, German, Italian, French, and Spanish, as well as his experience as an intelligence officer, Gross was recruited by **Asher Ben-Natan** to the Political Department in the Israeli Foreign Ministry. In Israel he was known by the Hebrew name David Magen, but he was stationed as Ted Cross in Italy to set up a network of Arab spies for Israel. In 1950 Gross was dispatched to Egypt to set up a network of local informers there. When the **Mossad** acquired many of the Political Department's tasks, it took him over in Egypt.

In late 1951 the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) found evidence that Gross was in fact working for Egyptian intelligence for pay. **Isser Harel**, the director of the ISA, who had a unique talent for detecting spies, double agents, and traitors, actually found Gross out. In contrast to Gross's former boss in the Political Department, **Boris Guriel**, who continued to believe in Gross's innocence, Harel remained convinced that Gross was a traitor. Gross was ordered to leave Egypt immediately

for Tel Aviv via Rome. Harel himself, for the first time as director of the ISA, flew to Italy to ensure that Gross would be brought to Israel. On arrival, Gross was arrested. During his trial, he maintained that he contacted Egyptian intelligence to deceive the Egyptians and that he was loyal to Israel. His argument was not accepted, however, and Gross was convicted of espionage for Egypt and sentenced to 15 years in jail. He died in prison.

GUR-ARYEH, ZEEV. *See* LOTZ, WOLFGANG.

GURIEL, BORIS. Born Boris Gurevitch in Latvia before changing his family name to the Hebrew Guriel, he immigrated to Palestine in 1935. He obtained considerable experience with foreigners when serving in the British Army during World War II. Guriel was captured by the Nazis, but survived to return to Palestine in 1945, where he was recruited by **Information Service** (Shai). He rose through the ranks and became head of the organization's Political Department in Jerusalem. In 1947 he headed the Shai's Political Department in Tel Aviv. The Shai was disbanded on 30 June 1948, and Guriel was appointed director of the Political Department (Ha'mahlaka Ha'medinit) in the Foreign Ministry of the newly established State of Israel, serving in this position until 1951. While holding this post, Guriel set up an ultrasecret subdepartment, **Heker 2**. With the establishment of the **Mossad** in April 1949, the Foreign Ministry's Political Department began its process of dismantling. Most of its functions were transferred to the Mossad. Heker 2 was transformed into **Unit 131** in **Military Intelligence** of the Israel Defense Forces. Following these changes, Guriel resigned from the intelligence service and became keeper of the Weizmann Archives in Rehovot, Israel.

GUTMANN, SHMARYA (1909–1996). Born in Scotland, Gutmann immigrated to Palestine as an infant in 1912. In 1942 he was dispatched by the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** to Iraq. After returning to Palestine, he commanded Shahar, the **Arab Platoon** of the Palmah underground militia. Gutmann became a dominant figure in Shahar and instructed many of its members in techniques of operating like Arabs. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he returned to his civilian profession of archaeology.

– H –

HAFEZ, MUSTAFA ASSASSINATION. In the 1950s Colonel Mustafa Hafez was the commander of Egyptian intelligence in Gaza. That was the time when Egypt customarily sent cells of marauding Arabs (*fedayeen*) from the Gaza Strip into Israel for the purpose of terrorizing Israeli society by murdering Israelis. Hafez was in charge of those operations.

In June 1956 the director of **Military Intelligence**, Major General **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, and Colonel **Haim Levakov** proposed a plan to assassinate Hafez, which succeeded. Hafez was killed on 12 June 1956 by an explosive device hidden in a book handed to him by an Egyptian double agent. The agent, who did not know what he was carrying, was blinded in the blast. Another book bomb was sent the next day via the East Jerusalem post office to Colonel Salah Mustafa, the Egyptian military attaché in Amman, who had dispatched infiltrators via the West Bank to Israel. He opened the package and was killed by the blast.

In the 1960s mail bombs became a central assassination tool of Israeli intelligence, especially as part of the **Damocles Operation** against (former Nazis) German scientists who were developing a missile program for Egypt.

HALEVY, EFRAIM (1934–). A past director of the **Mossad**. Born in London, Halevy immigrated to Israel in 1948. In 1956 he graduated cum laude with a master of laws degree from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. During his student years, he served as president of the national students union (1955–1957).

In 1961 Halevy joined the Mossad, starting as a junior case officer and rising steadily through the organization's ranks in his 28-year career. As a Mossad officer, he was for many years Israel's leading figure in contacts with Jordan's King Hussein, and he played a key role in negotiating the peace treaty between the two countries signed in late 1994. In 1996 he was seconded to the Foreign Ministry and served as Israel's ambassador to the European Union in Brussels until his appointment to the Mossad directorship on 5 March 1998. He was then the oldest director ever appointed. At that time reserve major general **Amiram Levine** was made deputy director of the Mossad for operations.

Halevy's first task as director was to ease the high tensions and resentments within the organization that had seriously damaged its image in Israel and abroad. Halevy initiated a reorganization, taking as his model the Central Intelligence Agency in the United States. This meant creating three main divisions: intelligence collection, analysis, and operations. The first two indeed came into being, but the operations division did not and operational activities were hardly conducted.

Halevy retired from the Mossad in September 2002 and was appointed director of Israel's National Security Council, a post he held until June 2003. Thereafter he established the Center for Strategic Thought and Policy at the School of Public Policy at Hebrew University.

On 13 April 2005 Halevy was awarded the Chaim Herzog Prize for special contribution to the State of Israel by Hebrew University and Yad Chaim Weizmann for his major contribution to Israel's security.

HALPERIN, ISSER. *See* HAREL, ISSER.

HA'MEMUNEH. *See* HAREL, ISSER.

HAMSHARI, MAHMOUD. Dr. Mahmoud Hamshari, an intellectual, was a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization. He resided at no. 175 Champs Elysées in Paris with his French wife and small daughter. Hamshari was responsible for the bombing of a Swissair aircraft in 1970, an aerial terror attack in which 47 people lost their lives. Hamshari was also suspected as the planner of an assassination attempt on Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion when the latter visited Denmark in 1969. After the **Munich massacre** (1972), **Committee X** listed Hamshari as a target for assassination. Close surveillance on Hamshari by a team of the Kidon unit of the **Mossad** revealed that he was alone at home only during the morning hours, when his wife took their daughter to kindergarten. One morning when the entire family, including Hamshari, was known to be out of the apartment, a team member entered and installed an explosive device beneath the telephone table. On the morning of 8 December 1972, Hamshari, alone in his apartment as usual, heard his phone ring. As he approached the telephone, the small bomb was remotely activated by one of the team members from a nearby café.

After Hamshari was killed, his wife tried to reconstruct his actions of the preceding few days. She recalled that she and her husband had arranged to meet a man purporting to be an Italian journalist for an interview in a small café. The interview took place, but was never published in any newspaper. It was during this conversation between the "Italian journalist" and the Hamsharis that the Kidon team member broke into their apartment and installed the explosive device. *See also* TERRORISM; WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

HARARI, MICHAEL (MIKE) (1927–). Born in Tel Aviv, Harari served in the Palmah underground militia and in the **Information Service** prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. Thereafter he joined the Israeli intelligence community. In the 1950s he served in the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) as a security officer responsible for Israel's Foreign Ministry installations worldwide. His next job was in the **Mossad**. In 1972 he was appointed by its director, **Zvi Zamir**, to head a special team appointed to assassinate Palestinian terrorists who had caused the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in September 1972. He pursued this mission—known as the **Wrath of God Operation**—until the **Lillehammer Affair**. He was in Norway during the failed attempt to kill **Ali Hassan Salameh** but managed to slip out of that country with a woman friend. Back in Israel he continued to work for the Mossad for a few more years despite his responsibility for the Lillehammer failure.

Harari retired from the Mossad in 1978, ostensibly to embark on a private career in the insurance sector. Harari moved his base of operations to Panama, where he became a close adviser to General Manuel Noriega. Harari trained Noriega's bodyguards and was even involved in arms selling to Panama. It is believed that he returned some favors to Israeli intelligence from Panama as a private individual.

HAREL, ISSER (1912–2003). Born Isser Halperin in Vitebsk, Byelorussia, in 1930 he immigrated to Palestine and settled in a kibbutz. In the 1940s Harel joined the **Information Service** (Shai) of the Haganah underground militia. In the Shai, he was in charge of the archive, collecting information on the British, the Arabs, and especially on dissident

Jews who either collaborated with the British or belonged to rival underground militias. At the order of Israel's future prime minister David Ben-Gurion, Harel commanded the sinking of the ship *Altalena* carrying arms for the Irgun Zvai Leumi. He also cooperated with the British auxiliary forces to fight the Nazis.

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Harel was appointed director of the precursor to the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), then Unit 181 in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). He held the rank of lieutenant colonel. Harel convinced Ben-Gurion that the ISA as an intelligence organization should not be subordinate to the IDF; for a short period it became subordinate to the Defense Ministry, but Harel convinced the prime minister that the ISA should be accountable directly to the prime minister, a stance that Ben-Gurion accepted. As the ISA was a new organization, Harel could select all his agents carefully; many were non-Jews and some did not know that they were working for Israel. As a member of Ben-Gurion's ruling Israeli Workers party (Mapai), Harel also followed the activities of political rivals, keeping under surveillance those who were suspected of links with the Soviet Union.

After the resignation of **Reuven Shiloah** from the directorship of the **Mossad** in 1952, Harel became the Mossad's director, but he remained a powerful figure in the ISA as well. With many new recruits from Irgun and the Stern Group, his tasks included preventing other Israeli intelligence organizations from recruiting his agents and encouraging covert Jewish immigration from Arab countries. He later revealed that he had smuggled thousands of Moroccan Jews to Israel by cooperating with the Franco regime in Spain and bribing local officials, making several visits there in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

As Mossad director, Harel developed a close relationship with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. He had a key role in developing relations with other intelligence communities, too, especially in forming the well-known **Trident Network** in which Israel, Iran, and Turkey collected intelligence about Egypt.

During Harel's tenure as director of the Mossad, he led two famous operations. The first was Adolf **Eichmann's capture** in 1960; the second was finding the boy **Yossele Schumacher**, who had been abducted by his ultraorthodox grandfather from Israel to Brooklyn, New York, in 1959.

In 1962 Harel learned that German scientists were assisting the Egyptians in developing missile technology. According to **Reuven Merhav**, a former long-time member of the intelligence community, the technology was far inferior to Israel's and not a threat to its security; nevertheless, Harel believed it was necessary to intimidate Germany. Ben-Gurion supported the view of Merhav, but Harel at his own initiative initiated the **Damocles Operation** to prevent the German scientists from assisting the Egyptian surface-to-surface missile program. As a result of irreconcilable differences with the prime minister, Harel resigned from the Mossad in 1963.

When Isser Harel served as director of the ISA, and later the Mossad, he was anonymous, known only as Ha'Memuneh, Hebrew for "the man in charge" or simply "the boss." Following his career in intelligence, Harel turned primarily to writing. His best-known book, *The House on Garibaldi Street* (1975), recounts the capture of Eichmann.

HARKABI, YEHOSHAFAT (1921–1994). Born in Haifa, Israel, and known by his nickname Fatti, in 1943 Harkabi volunteered for the British army. During Israel's 1948–1949 War of Independence, he was the commander of an army company of enlisted students in Jerusalem. Soon he joined the Foreign Ministry and was appointed director of the Asian Department. Harkabi was a member of the Israeli delegation sent to Rhodes to negotiate the armistice agreements with Arab representatives to end hostilities. He was appointed liaison officer between the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the Foreign Ministry. In the early 1950s Harkabi served as director-general of that ministry for some time, after which he returned to military service as deputy director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI). He went to study in France, and on his return in 1955 he was appointed director of MI, with the rank of major general.

In 1956, before the **Sinai Campaign**, Harkabi managed to make contact with his French intelligence counterparts, which resulted in a permanent Israeli intelligence representative being stationed in Paris. In that year too Harkabi ordered the sending of letter bombs to Egyptian officers responsible for the infiltration of terrorists from the Gaza Strip into Israel (*see* HAFEZ, MUSTAFA ASSASSINATION). Harkabi was obliged to retire from the MI and the army in 1959 for his part in a mobilization exercise of the army reservists that went awry—the so-called **Night of Ducks**.

After resigning from the IDF, Harkabi joined the faculty of Hebrew University in Jerusalem as professor of international relations. Following the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, he served as an adviser to Minister of Defense Shimon Peres.

HARMELIN, YOSEF (1922–1994). Born in Vienna, Harmelin immigrated to Palestine in 1939 and volunteered for the British army in World War II. After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, he joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and rose through the ISA ranks until in 1964 when he was appointed director of the organization by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. Harmelin held this position until 1975, winning a reputation for honesty, sincerity, and perfectionism, if not brilliance. His relations with Eshkol were formal, although the prime minister consulted him fairly frequently. In the mid-1960s Harmelin recommended the abolition of the military government imposed on Israeli Arab citizens. His advice was accepted by the Israeli government, and the military government was terminated in 1966.

Following a secret inquiry in Israel into the **Munich massacre** of Israeli Olympic athletes in September 1972, three senior ISA officers were dismissed and Harmelin threatened to resign. However, Prime Minister Golda Meir persuaded him to stay on. As a result of this security debacle, Harmelin decided to appoint **Avraham Shalom** to head the ISA Protective Security Branch. In 1975 Shalom replaced Harmelin as director of the ISA.

In 1978 Harmelin joined Israel's foreign service and was appointed head of the Israeli delegation in Iran (1978–1979). In 1979 he became Israeli ambassador to South Africa, where he served until 1981. Following the **Bus 300 Affair**, he was called to direct the ISA again (1986–1988). Harmelin is remembered for his rejection of the use of violence in ISA interrogations, even of terrorists.

HARMER, YOLANDE (?–1959). Born in Egypt to a Turkish-Jewish mother, her maiden name was Yolande Gabai and her Hebrew name Yolande Har-Mor. She is thought of as the Israeli Mata Hari. Harmer was a widow with one son from her third husband, a wealthy South African businessman. She was recruited in Egypt to the Political Department of the Jewish Agency during a visit to that country by the

head of the department, **Moshe Sharett**, in 1945. Posing as a journalist, Harmer made many important contacts with the high Egyptian echelons, including senior editors of the leading Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram.* Harmer also made exceptional contacts with foreign diplomats in Egypt. Following meetings of the Arab League in Cairo in December 1947 and February 1948, she reported to the Political Department in Tel Aviv on the resolutions adopted, mailing them via Europe. From her sources, she found out the plans of the Egyptian and other Arab armies following the approaching termination of the British Mandate in Palestine. From a British officer stationed in Egypt, she obtained information about relations between Britain and the Kingdom of Jordan. Much of the material Harmer obtained was of high strategic value. She also set up an espionage network in Egypt, although it collapsed upon the Arab invasion of Israel on 15 May 1948.

In June 1948, Harmer was arrested in Egypt. In prison she fell ill, and by some means she received help to be released. In August 1948 she left Egypt for Paris, from where she kept in touch with her Egyptian contacts. From October 1948 Harmer became the key figure of the Paris branch of the Israeli Foreign Ministry's Middle East Department. In the 1950s she worked for Israel in Madrid.

HAZAK, REUVEN. A former officer of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), Hazak left his civilian job as director-general of the Jerusalem municipality in 1981 at the request of the director of the ISA, **Avraham Shalom**, and returned to the agency as Shalom's deputy. He held this post until 1986. In April 1984 Hazak was put in charge of an operation to detect the members of a Jewish terrorist organization suspected of the attempted assassinations of the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah, and El Bireh on 2 June 1980. The mission was initially code-named the Dead End Operation, but Hazak superstitiously changed this to the Green Light Operation. Hazak and his team discovered that in addition to the attacks on the mayors and the murder of three Palestinian students at the Islamic College in Hebron, the terrorist settlers had planned to blow up the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

In October 1985 Hazak called on Shalom to resign because of Shalom's personal misconduct and cover-up in the **Bus 300 Affair**.

Hazak knew that Shalom had given the order to kill the two surviving Palestinian hijackers of Bus 300 after they had surrendered and were in custody. Hazak knew also that the head of the ISA operations division, **Ehud Yatom**, had carried out the killing. Hazak himself resigned from the ISA due to this scandal in 1986.

HEKER 2. Heker 2 ("Research 2") was an ultrasecret unit within the Political Department of the Israeli Foreign Ministry set up in 1948. Its missions were sabotage and propaganda behind enemy lines. Following the establishment of the **Mossad** and the disbanding of the Foreign Ministry's Political Department, Heker 2 was transferred to **Military Intelligence** in the Israel Defense Forces and renamed **Unit 131**.

HERZOG, CHAIM (1918–1997). President of Israel (1983–1988). Herzog was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland. In 1935 his family immigrated to Palestine, and his father, Isaac Halevy Herzog, became chief rabbi of Israel. Chaim Herzog attended the Government of Palestine Law School in Jerusalem, Cambridge University, and London University, where he earned a law degree. During World War II, he was a tank commander in the British Army; he later directed British intelligence in Germany, where he identified a captive soldier as Nazi chief Heinrich Himmler. After the war, he served in the Jewish underground, the Haganah, in Palestine.

After serving as a field commander in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Colonel Herzog was appointed director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI) in 1948, holding this position until 1950. MI was at that time a department in the General Staff of the IDF. From 1959 to 1962 Herzog, now with the rank of major general, served again as director of the MI. Now the MI was a directorate in General Staff.

After retiring from the army, Herzog went into private business. During the 1967 **Six-Day War**, he served as a radio commentator, becoming renowned for his military and political analyses. After that war, Herzog was recalled to active duty and served as the first IDF military governor of Judea, Samaria, and East Jerusalem. During the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, he again gave radio commentaries on its progress, which were later assembled as a book entitled *The War of Atonement* (1975). In 1975 Chaim Herzog was appointed Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. In that capacity he denounced the General Assembly resolu-

tion defining Zionism as racism in 1975 and defended the 1976 **Yehonathan Operation**, the rescue of Israeli hostages in Uganda. He served as ambassador to the United Nations until 1978. His book *The Arab-Israeli Wars* (1982) was widely praised. In 1981 he became a Labor party member of Israel's parliament, the Knesset. Highly respected by both major political parties, Herzog was elected to two consecutive five-year terms as Israel's president in 1983 and 1988.

After the presidency Herzog returned to private life. He devoted himself primarily to speaking tours, journalistic commentary, board memberships, and writing his autobiography. Herzog was actively involved in developing the Center for Middle East Studies and Diplomacy at Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheba, which today carries his name. He died on 17 April 1997. Several educational institutions in Israel are dedicated to his memory. Yad Chaim Herzog was established by his family to perpetuate his memory and legacy.

HILLEL, SHLOMO (1923–). Born in Baghdad, Hillel immigrated with his family to Palestine in 1933. In 1946 he returned to Baghdad on an Iraqi passport where he remained for a year to participate in underground Zionist activity on behalf of the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**. Back in Israel, in 1949–1950 Hillel engaged in organizing Jewish migration to that country from Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria. He returned to Baghdad once more in 1950 to negotiate the mass migration to Israel of the Jews of Iraq in the historic **Ezra and Nehemia Operation**. In 1951 Hillel was sent on secret missions to Egypt. After resigning from the secret service, he became Israeli ambassador to Guinea (1959–1961) and to the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey, and Niger (1961–1963); he was a member of Israel's permanent delegation to the United Nations (1963–1967), deputy director-general of the Foreign Ministry for Middle East issues (1967–1969), and chairman of the world board of Keren Hayesod (1989). During his public career, he was several times elected a member of the Knesset, serving as Speaker of the Knesset from 1984 to 1988. He also served as Israel's minister of police and the interior.

HILMI, ABBAS. In 1964 Captain Hilmi, a pilot in the Egyptian Air Force dissatisfied with the Nasserist regime, defected to Israel flying his Soviet-made Yak trainer aircraft. Israel was more interested

in obtaining a Soviet-built MiG fighter, but Abbas Hilmi was still given a very warm reception. He provided Israeli intelligence with important information about the Egyptian Air Force. His main use, however, was for propaganda purposes. In widely broadcast interviews, he condemned the Egyptian intervention in Yemen and revealed that Nasser used poison gas against the Yemeni royalists. He was offered a well-paid job in Israel, but it was difficult for him to get used to the Jewish state and its customs.

Hilmi rejected an offer of political asylum in Israel, where he could remain in relative safety, and instead insisted on moving to South America. The **Mossad** arranged a new identity for him, gave him a generous sum of money to build his new life, and taught him the basics of remaining safe under his new assumed identity. However, Hilmi committed a series of fatal errors in Buenos Aires, including mailing a postcard from Argentina to his mother in Egypt. The way to tracing him was soon open. He later met a young Arab woman at a nightclub who invited him to her apartment in Buenos Aires. It was an Egyptian trap. Egyptian secret agents lay in wait for him at the apartment; they took him and smuggled him aboard an Egyptian cargo vessel bound for Cairo. Hilmi was convicted of treason in an Egyptian court and executed. *See also* STEALING THE MIG-21.

HINDAWI AFFAIR. In April 1986, the Syrians attempted to blow up an El Al airplane departing from London's Heathrow Airport with a bag of explosives taken onboard by an unwitting courier, but the plot was foiled. The courier was dispatched by Nizar Hindawi, a Jordanian of Palestinian origin who was directly controlled by the Air Force Security Directorate headed by Syrian major general Muhammad al-Khouli. Hindawi was convicted by a court in Great Britain, and for a short period thereafter Britain severed its relations with Syria; the United States also withdrew its ambassador from Damascus.

The Syrian attempt to blow up the El Al aircraft occurred after the **Mossad** and **Military Intelligence** had obtained information that the chief Palestinian **terrorists**—George Habash, Nayef Hawatmah, Ahmed Gibril, and Abu Nidal—were flying back from Tripoli, Libya, to Damascus, Syria. This information was not correct, however. Four Israeli F-16 jets forced the Gulfstream airplane to land in a military airport in the north of Israel. The passengers where taken out of the

airplane with their hands up. Israeli intelligence found that not one of the wanted men was among the passengers, although some Syrian officials close to President Hafiz Assad were.

HOFI, YITZHAK (1927–). Born in Palestine and known by his nickname Haka, Hofi was a member of the Palmah underground militia prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. Thereafter he served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and fought in the 1948–1949 War of Independence. After the war he became a paratroop commander and saw action in the most perilous military operations during the 1950s. On the eve of the 1967 **Six-Day War**, he was engaged in military planning for this confrontation. At the time of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** Hofi, now a major general, served as head of the IDF Northern Command.

Hofi was appointed director of the **Mossad** in 1974. He served in this position at the time of the planning of the IDF rescue operation in Entebbe known as the **Yehonathan Operation** (1976). The Mossad's role was especially significant through its station in Nairobi. In 1977 Hofi, with his assistant **David (Dave) Kimche**, was sent to Morocco to prepare the secret meeting between Israeli foreign minister Moshe Dayan and Egyptian deputy prime minister Hassan Tohami to initiate a peace process between Israel and Egypt. In Morocco, Hofi met his Egyptian counterpart, General Kamal Hassan Ali. The meeting paved the way for the historic visit of President Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem in November 1977. As the Mossad director in the late 1970s, Hofi was involved in planning the **Moses Operation**, which conveyed Ethiopian Jews to Israel. He was still the organization's director at the time Israel planned the air bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June 1981, although when invited to attend a cabinet meeting, he opposed the idea; instead, he recommended firmer diplomatic measures to halt the Iraqi nuclear program.

On 18 June 1981 Hofi requested an interview with the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz.* In it, he said that politicians should not boast publicly about the air strike against the Iraqi reactor. As the director of the Mossad, his name was not mentioned; at that time, Israeli law forbade public disclosure of the names of the heads of the Israeli intelligence organizations. The sole exception was the name of the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI). In one incident in the 1970s, when Hofi and some Mossad

operatives were in the lounge of Frankfurt airport, he saw his name and his picture in a German newspaper. He asked his men to buy all the copies of the newspaper from all newspaper desks in the terminal.

In November 1981 Hofi was greatly displeased by the decision of Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon to dispatch retired major general Avraham Tamir, behind Hofi's back, to Ndjamena, Chad. Tamir was utilized by Sharon as a "clandestine diplomat" for special missions. During Sharon's incumbency, the Mossad, and Hofi as its director, was shunted aside. This, and the *Ha'aretz* interview containing Hofi's criticism of Israeli policy makers, signaled the end of his career as director of the Mossad. He resigned in 1982, his eight-year directorship having been the longest since that of **Isser Harel**. He was succeeded by **Nahum Admoni**.

In 1987 Hofi was a member of the **Landau Commission** of Inquiry into the Methods of Investigation of the ISA Regarding Hostile Terrorist Activities. He and two other members of the commission exposed the fact that **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) operatives had lied to the Israeli courts about their part in the **Bus 300 Affair**.

In 1996, when the secrecy rule regarding names of heads of the Mossad and of the ISA was changed, Hofi, as a past director the Mossad, protested that the names must remain classified for the persons' own safety.

HORESH, JOSHUA (1920–). Born in Baghdad to Jewish parents, in 1938, Horesh left Iraq as Nazi influence spread across the country. His unique background allowed him to work with British intelligence in Egypt during World War II, where he served with distinction until jailed in Cairo. Horesh was sentenced to deportation from Egypt to Beirut, but he succeeded in escaping to Palestine and joined the British forces. This time, he secretly served the Palestinian Jewish underground, providing information on British policies toward the Jews. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Horesh served as an intelligence officer in the 1948–1949 War of Independence and successfully broke Egypt's military codes. Horesh joined the newly established **Mossad** intelligence organization and worked for it primarily in Turkey and Austria under an assumed Arab identity.

HOREV, YEHIEL (1944–). Born Yehiel Zilberman in Tel Aviv, at an early age he moved to Kibbutz Hulata in Upper Galilee. Horev was

drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1962 and served in the Golani infantry brigade, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant. In the IDF reserves, he served in the Armored Corps and was promoted to major.

During the late 1960s Horev was sent as a member of an IDF mission to train the army of Congo (later Zaire). He returned to Israel in 1969 and was recruited as a security officer at a facility of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission in the center of the country. Then he joined a unit known as Malmab that was so ultrasecret that even its name can only be conjectured—probably Memuneh Al Ha'Bitahon Be'Ma'arekhet Ha'Bitahon. It was headquartered at the Defense Ministry compound in Tel Aviv. From there, Horev directed the physical protection of all Israel's defense facilities, sites, and plants. The most closely watched were the nuclear reactor in Dimona and the Biological Institute at Nes Ziona, south of Tel Aviv, where, according to foreign reports, Israel's nonconventional weapons (nuclear, biological, chemical) are manufactured. The physical protection unit is in liaison with the security officers of the plants and issues their instructions. Its task is to oversee them and ensure that they function properly.

Horev was promoted in the ranks of the Malmab and became deputy to its head, the **director of security for the Defense Establishment** (DSDE), **Chaim Carmon**. By the end of the 1980s, after Carmon was appointed to a more senior position in the Defense Ministry, having responsibility inter alia for Malmab, Horev was appointed DSDE to direct Malmab. At about that time, Carmon took sick leave for a heart condition, and during that short period Horev was able to build his reputation in the Defense Ministry as the man in charge, responsible for securing the most sensitive Israeli defense installations. Horev convinced the Ministry's director-general that Carmon was in fact to blame for **Mordechai Vanunu**'s treachery. He presented Carmon's behavior as "sleeping while on guard duty." After returning from his sick leave, Carmon simply resigned.

Horev expanded the Malmab to a formidable dinosaur. He pursued obsessively any Israeli writing or speaking about Israeli secrets such as the Dimona reactor without permission from the military censor. He even interrogated Israeli historian Avner Cohen, author of *Israel and the Bomb*, on his sources.

Horev's basic traits were devotion to duty alongside blandness, pettiness, and acute suspiciousness, but also personal integrity and a

strong desire to expose corruption and failures, as well as a penchant for vengefulness. Two affairs of leaking top secret security information concerned Horev most of all: the Vanunu affair noted above and the affair of Professor **Avraham Marcus Klingberg**, who made revelations about the Nes Ziona Biological Institute to the Soviets.

Shortly after assuming office as DSDE, Horev took measures to hobble Vanunu, by then serving a prison sentence. Horev demanded that harsh conditions be imposed on Vanunu in prison, including years in solitary confinement and severe limitations on the number of visitors he could have. But Horev failed to persuade the Israeli decision makers to place Vanunu under administrative detention—arrest without trial—even after he completed his prison term. Presently Horev is fighting a rearguard battle to prevent Vanunu from leaving Israel and to have him kept under supervision and restrictions tantamount to house arrest.

Several times Horev collided with the directors of the **Mossad** and the **Israel Security Agency** (ISA). Although Malmab is not an actual intelligence organization, as it does not collect information, Horev wishes to transform it into another independent intelligence arm.

Horev's name might have remained secret even years after the names of the directors of the Mossad and the ISA were declassified had Israeli-Arab Knesset member Issam Mahul not revealed it publicly in a Knesset debate. Such an act would be considered criminal if done by any ordinary Israeli, but as a member of the Knesset Mahul, he has some degree of immunity. *See also* NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM.

– I –

ILAN, URI (1935–1955). On the night of 8 December 1954, a force of five Israel Defense Forces soldiers, three from the paratroops and two from the infantry, crossed the armistice line between Israel and Syria in the Golan Heights, entrusted with a secret mission: changing the batteries of a wiretapping device. The mission was never accomplished. The men were surrounded by Syrian troops. Outnumbered and under fire, the commander of the force ordered them to surrender. They were taken prisoner by the Syrians and incarcerated at Al-Mazza prison on the outskirts of Damascus. On 29 March 1956, after 475 days of imprisonment and excruciating torture, Israel's diplomatic and

military efforts secured their release in return for the release of 41 Syrian prisoners of war. But one—Uri Ilan, a soldier of the Golani Brigade and member of Kibbutz Gan Shmuel—had already been returned in a coffin.

While in prison, the group was kept isolated from each other and subjected to the cruelest physical and psychological torment. Ilan feared that under torture he would reveal secrets of the operation to the Syrians and thus harm Israel's security. He therefore committed suicide in his cell on 13 January 1955. Later that day, his body was returned to Israel.

When Ilan's body was examined, a note was found attached to his leg. It read: "They have already killed everyone. I await the sentence. I know nothing about the rest. Bury me next to Gabi. They are going to kill me. Avenge." In his clothes, more notes were found that he had written by perforating the paper—torn from the Hebrew book *Vengeance of the Fathers* by Yitzhak Shemi—to form letters. The most famous of the notes was inscribed: "I did not betray, I committed suicide." However, in his eulogy for Ilan at his funeral, the chief of the General Staff, Moshe Dayan, chose not to read the final words, so that the phrase seared into the public consciousness is "I did not betray."

INCODA. A wholly Israeli-owned beef-export company, Incoda was a useful commercial front for Israeli intelligence. In fact, it served as the **Mossad** station in Africa. Yossi Harel, a former **Military Intelligence** officer managed the Incoda factory in Asmara, Eritrea. The firm was used mainly for dispatching agents to Arab countries. *See also* DUMMY COMPANIES.

INFORMATION SECURITY. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

INFORMATION SERVICE/SHERUTH YEDIOTH (SHAI). Until 1939, no single body existed to coordinate Jewish intelligence actions. Rather, the Jewish Yishuv in Mandatory Palestine had four different organizations operating throughout the country:

- The Political Department of the Jewish Agency, headed by **Moshe Sharett**, developed connections with the British and the Arabs, yielding important data.

- In Tel Aviv, **Ephraim Dekel** set up an information-gathering apparatus based on the city's police force.
- As in Tel Aviv, an information-gathering system was active in Haifa and the Haifa Bay suburbs.
- In Hadera, a farmer named **Ezra Danin** set up an apparatus for collecting security-related information on the Arabs.

No regular or formal connection existed between these bodies, but important pieces of information were channeled to the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem. To some extent, the commanders of the Haganah, the Jewish militia, in the various districts and settlement blocs found this arrangement to be advantageous.

The next stage in the development of an intelligence system came in 1939, with the publication of the British White Paper on Palestine. Its appearance exacerbated the confrontation of the Yishuv with the British rulers over the future status of Palestine. The British customarily conducted weapons searches in Jewish villages, which often proved to be successful. This aroused the suspicion that Jewish informers were at work, creating the need for a counterespionage body to prevent the leaking of information. Furthermore, in light of British ineffectiveness in dealing with Arab rioters, the Yishuv became increasingly aware that an organization was needed to expose Arab intentions in advance so that the Jewish settlements would be able to protect themselves or to deliver a preemptive blow against the rioters.

Thus, in 1939, with the outbreak of World War II, the first attempt was made by the Haganah to unify the four organizations listed above. The prime mover in this effort was **Shaul Avigur**, who, together with Sharett and the national Haganah command, was instrumental in creating the official Information Service, known by its Hebrew acronym Shai. The essential function of counterespionage was integrated into its ranks.

No precise moment indicated the founding of this group; of the many milestones that can be found along the way, any one of them could have marked its start. Despite the small number of people who joined the organization, it was divided into departments, each with its own head, a secretary, a typist, and an archive operated by one or two assistants. The departments operated over a wide range of areas, as reflected by their names:

- The British Department, headed by Moshe Bar-Ilan, was later renamed the Political Department. Its task was to derive information from the offices and archives of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the British police.
- The Jewish Department, headed by Katriel Katz and later by **Isser Harel**, was renamed the Internal Department in 1947 at the suggestion of David Ben-Gurion. It was also known as the Revisionist or Seceders' Department.
- The Communist Department was headed by Dr. David Arian.
- The Arab Department was headed by Ze'ev Sherf.
- The Technical Department, headed by Chaim Wilander, was engaged in preparing forged documents, opening sealed mail, and the like.

The Shai's departmental system remained in effect with hardly any changes until the body was disbanded soon after the State of Israel was established in May 1948.

Despite the fact that most of its members were lacking in formal intelligence experience, it appears that the Shai was well organized and was able to penetrate most areas necessary for obtaining intelligence. The Shai had the benefit of a considerable number of Arabic-speaking Jews of Arab appearance, most of whom had been born in Arab countries. Some were sent back to their countries of birth as Israeli agents, and some infiltrated Palestinian Arab villages and towns inside the borders of the British Mandate, all for purposes of collecting information.

Although informers were known for delivering information that the handler wanted to hear, even if it was not always true, in order to collect their payment, the Shai did engage in some successful operations. One was deciphering the "imperial code," used for cables of the highest political importance dispatched to London. Another was obtaining the plans of the bridges between Palestine and its neighbors in preparation for the "Night of the Bridges," on 17 June 1946, when the bridges were blown up by Haganah forces. Yet another was obtaining the British plan of attack against the leaders of the Yishuv and the Haganah from a British officer who was an informer. During the major operation known as "Black Saturday," which took place on 29 June 1946, two weeks after the Night of the Bridges, the British confiscated weapons and documents from Jews, and some 2,700 people were arrested and jailed in a special internment camp at Rafiah (*see* TERRORISM).

In the end, the Shai lacked the central direction and systematic thinking essential for an intelligence organization, as all of its departments were more politically than militarily oriented. Shai was ill prepared for its real mission during the crucial years of 1947 and early 1948 in the struggle for the creation of the independent State of Israel, when most Shai resources, in terms of manpower, money, and effort, were devoted to the Internal Department for collecting information on dissident Jews.

After the United Nations voted for the partition of Palestine on 29 November 1947, the Shai, like the intelligence units of the other underground militias, lost many of its contacts with Palestinians and other Arabs. From 29 November 1947 to 14 May 1948, the date marking Israeli statehood, the Shai performed rather poorly. It managed to learn the planned routes of the Arab invasions of the fledgling Jewish state only a week before they were launched. Many in the Yishuv leadership did not believe that the British would really leave or that the regular Arab armies would attack. They were woefully mistaken on both counts. Arab informers could no longer be contacted once the fighting broke out, due to communication difficulties as well as to unwillingness on the part of many to continue working against their own people. The Shai failed to evaluate the military strength of the Arab states on the eve of Israel's War of Independence in May 1948. Israeli Army forces knew very little about enemy plans and were surprised by the numbers and strength of the Arab armies. A heavy price was paid for this assessment error. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion remarked on this, in later years, saying that the young state was fighting "with its eyes closed."

Besides the Shai, other underground militias also performed intelligence tasks. The Palmah had the **Arab Platoon**, which was composed of Arabic-speaking and Arab-looking Jews who conducted work similar to that of the Shai's Arab Department. There was also Rekhesh (Acquisitions), a secret organization with a mission to secretly obtain weaponry for the Yishuv by whatever means available. Finally, the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** organized and brought illegal immigrants to Palestine in violation of the British White Paper of 1939.

The Shai was formally disbanded on 30 June 1948, a month and a half after the declaration of Israeli statehood. Despite its ineffec-

tiveness in many spheres, the Shai's apparatus and personnel provided the infrastructure on which the new state's Military Intelligence and security services were founded. **Isser Be'eri**, the acting head of the Shai, was appointed director of **Military Intelligence**, and Harel was made director of the **Israeli Security Agency**. Thus, Israel's intelligence community did not arise out of nothing, but was built on the foundations laid by the Shai during the few years of its existence.

INSTITUTION FOR COORDINATION. *See* MOSSAD.

INTELLIGENCE SATELLITES. *See* OFEQ SATELLITES.

INTELLIGENCE SCHOOL. Known also as Training Base 15, the Israeli intelligence school was established in the 1950s. For a certain period, the school was not active at all due to budgetary constraints. In the early years, training branches of the Intelligence Corps of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) were scattered in various places in Israel. A course for combat intelligence officers was held at one location, and a course for air reconnaissance photography decipherment at another. However, following the success of **Military Intelligence** (MI) in the 1967 **Six-Day War**, the decision was made by MI and the IDF General Staff to concentrate all MI training under one roof. This was accomplished in 1969 when the training base was activated as an autonomous unit of MI.

The director of Military Intelligence (DMI), Major General **Aharon Yariv**, assigned Colonel **Gideon Mahanaimi**, assisted by a small staff, to set up the Intelligence Corps training base, which was inaugurated on 20 July 1969. Initially two courses were held: combat intelligence and general intelligence. Auxiliary subjects studied on the courses were Arabic and English. In addition, following the guidelines of the DMI, trainees were instructed in Zionism and given a general background in Judaism. The establishment of the intelligence school paved the way for the preparation of an intelligence course curriculum, with determination of the priority of specific courses. Colonel Mahanaimi ended his position of commander of the school in August 1972. He won the praise of the DMI for building the school from scratch.

INTERNAL ISA COMMITTEE ON THE RABIN ASSASSINATION. Immediately after the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on 4 November 1995, the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) began a thorough investigation into the events that were connected to the operation in all its stages. ISA director **Carmi Gillon** joined the investigation on Sunday morning, 5 November 1995, upon his return from abroad. The committee concluded its work on 8 November 1995 and reported to the director of the ISA that there were planning and operational failures in securing Prime Minister Rabin. Gillon decided to establish an external investigation committee that would expand the investigation and the inquiry into the circumstances.

INTERNATIONAL COUNTERTERRORIST INTELLIGENCE NETWORK. *See* KILOWATT GROUP.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM (ICT). Established in 1996 at the Academic Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) in Herzliya, Israel, its sole focus is on the subject of **terrorism** and counterterrorism. The ICT is unique in that it combines academic knowledge with the practical experience of experts from many fields related to terrorism and counterterrorism. It assumes a global perspective on the issue of terrorism, treating it as a strategic problem not only for Israel but for other countries as well. Research is conducted on many aspects of terrorism, including the psychological effects of acts of terror and the influence of the public's fear of terrorism on political, social, and economic decisions, both regionally and internationally. The emphasis of the organization is on the need to improve the ability of the population to cope with the psychological damage of terrorism. Although the ICT is first and foremost an academic body, it may also be considered an intelligence group insofar as its research and analysis provide decision makers with recommendations on how to deal with all aspects of terrorism. *See also* BEGIN-SADAT CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES; JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES; MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

INVERKO. *See* DUMMY COMPANIES; ELAD, AVRAHAM (AVRI).

IRANGATE AFFAIR. Israel, along with the United States, suffered a grave loss with the fall of the Shah of Iran at the end of 1979. The Israeli leaders assumed that consistent geopolitical interests would eventually triumph over religious ideology and produce an accommodation between Israel and Iran. The onset of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980 gave Israeli leaders a special incentive to keep their door open to the Islamic rulers in Iran. The director-general of Israel's Foreign Ministry, **David (Dave) Kimche**, recommended selling arms to relatively moderate Iranians in positions of power, such as Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. The Israeli defense minister, Ariel Sharon, supported the idea. He believed that Israel's vital interest was a continuation of the war in the Persian Gulf, with an eventual Iranian victory.

The head of the **Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** at that time, **Aharon Yariv**, a retired major general and former director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), stated at a scholarly conference at Tel Aviv University in late 1986 that it would be to Israel's advantage if the Iran-Iraq War ended in a stalemate, but it would be even better if it continued; when that war ended, Iraq might open an "eastern front" against Israel. **Uri Lubrani**, Israel's chief representative in Iran under the shah, also justified the continued sale of Israeli arms to Iran since it might lead to the disappearance of Khomeinism. Strengthening the relatively moderate Iranian faction was thought potentially to be capable of toppling Khomeinism. Israeli leaders in talks with their American counterparts occasionally raised the notion of restoring the shah's regime; such an event might afford Israel and the United States influence in Iran once more.

Israel had its own considerations for deciding to continue selling arms to Iran: it was simply good for business. One out of 10 Israeli workers was then employed in arms-related industries; military items constituted more than a quarter of Israel's industrial exports. Israeli pro-Iranian policy was guided by the profit motive rather than strategic considerations. It resulted from the situation of severe unemployment that hit the Israeli arms industry in 1979 after the Iran market shriveled.

The first renewed Israeli arms sales to Iran in 1980 included spare parts for U.S.-made F-4 Phantom jets; a later deal that year included parts for U.S.-made tanks. Israel informed Washington only after the fact, when deliveries were well under way. Israeli policy makers

feared that a request for U.S. approval in advance would be turned down out of hand.

In November 1979 in the early days of the Iranian revolution, Iranian radicals had seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and taken 66 American diplomats hostage. The administration of President Jimmy Carter was in fact outraged that its embargo had been blatantly violated when it learned of Israel's secret supply of American spare parts to the Iranians during the hostage crisis. Until the diplomats were released in January 1981, U.S. secretary of state Edmund Muskie demanded that Israel cease its shipments. Israeli Prime Minister Begin promised to comply with the U.S. demands, but in fact Israel continued to sell arms to Iran without U.S. approval. Israeli officials maintained they were simply selling domestic Israeli-produced arms, not embargoed U.S. weapons.

On 24 July 1981 **Ya'acov Nimrodi**, an Israeli businessman engaged in arms sales, signed a deal with Iran's Ministry of National Defense to sell Iran arms worth $135,842,000, including Lance missiles, Copperhead shells, and Hawk missiles. A sale of such a magnitude must have had Israeli government acquiescence. Nimrodi, a comrade in arms of Ariel Sharon during Israel's 1948–1949 War of Independence and a close personal friend, won his approval for the deal.

The new U.S. administration of Ronald Reagan entered office in 1981. Toward the end of that year, Kimche approached U.S. secretary of state Alexander Haig and National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane to discuss proposed Israeli shipments of U.S.-made spare parts worth $10–15 million to the relatively moderate faction in Iran. Haig did not give his approval.

In November 1981 Sharon visited Washington and asked his U.S. counterpart Caspar Weinberger for approval to sell arms to Iran. Weinberger referred him to Haig, who unequivocally opposed any violation of the embargo. In May 1982 a clandestine gathering took place between Al Schwimmer, an American-Jewish billionaire who had founded the Israeli aircraft industry, Nimrodi, Kimche, and Sharon and his wife Lily, together with Sudanese president Gaafar Numeiri, at a Kenyan safari resort owned by Saudi business tycoon Adnan Khashoggi. At the meeting, Israel won Numeiri's agreement to allow Ethiopian Jews safe passage through Sudan when they migrated to the Jewish state. In return, Numeiri required that Israel

would later get him out of the country if his regime was toppled (*see* MOSES OPERATION). Sharon and Kimche went further and proposed to Numeiri that Sudan become a gigantic arms cache for weapons produced or captured by Israel. Saudi Arabia would finance the project, aimed largely at selling weapons to exiled Iranian generals of the ousted monarchial regime for a major coup attempt. The **Mossad** foiled the plan behind Sharon's back, persuading the late shah's son, then in Morocco, to veto it.

Under U.S. pressure, Israel halted arms sales for a while, but private Israeli citizens, particularly Nimrodi, continued making plans to resume trade ties with Iran. In 1985 Nimrodi succeeded in obtaining approval for his plans from Israel's national unity government, headed by Shimon Peres. Nimrodi and his partner Schwimmer, a close friend of Peres, were authorized to provide Iran with LAU antitank missiles and Hawk antiaircraft missiles from Israel's warehouses. These deals were part of what was later known as "Irangate" (echoing the Watergate scandal of the Nixon administration in the early 1970s).

In the mid-1980s Schwimmer played a key role in persuading the U.S. administration itself to sell arms to Iran. Through a secret agreement between the United States and the Israeli Defense Ministry in 1985, the arms to Iran went through Nimrodi. The United States replenished the supplies Israel transferred to Iran. One aspect of the deal was that Iran was to exert pressure on its protégé, the Hizbullah organization in Lebanon, to release U.S. and Western hostages kidnapped after 1982. The Reagan administration was fully aware of these attempts at freeing the hostages by means of unsanctioned arms sales to Iran.

News of Irangate first began to appear in the press toward the end of 1986. The scandal also became known as the "Iran-Contra" affair. It revealed how deeply the United States was involved in arms sales to Iran, breaching its own laws that prohibited the sale of U.S. weapons for resale to a third country listed as a "terrorist nation"—which occurred precisely at a time when the Washington was publicly calling for a worldwide ban on sending arms to Iran. Moreover, the money Iran paid for the arms was used by senior officials in the Reagan administration to buy arms for the Contra rebels in Nicaragua. This went against the Boland Amendment of 8 December

1982, which specifically prohibited military assistance to the Contras. One of the administration officials involved was Colonel Oliver North, military aide to the U.S. National Security Council, who reported in the White House to National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane and later to his successor John Poindexter. The entire scheme was conducted without Congress's knowledge, again contravening a law requiring sales above $14 million to be reported to Congress. *See also* NIR, AMIRAM.

ISOTOPES AND RADIATION ENTERPRISES (ISORAD). *See* DUMMY COMPANIES; NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT CORPORATION (NUMEC).

ISRAELI SECRET INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. *See* MOSSAD.

ISRAELI SECURITY AGENCY (ISA)/SHERUTH BITAHON KLALI (SHABAK). The "Sheruth Bitahon Klali" literally means General Security Service, but the organization's official English name is Israeli Security Agency. The ISA is also known as the Security Service, Sheruth Bitahon, or Shin Bet. It was established with the declaration of Israeli independence as Unit 184 in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Its first director was **Isser Harel** (1949–1952). At that time, all its personnel were IDF officers and soldiers. Harel wore an IDF uniform with the insignia of lieutenant colonel. In 1950, responsibility for ISA activity was moved from the IDF to the Israeli Defense Ministry, and soon after it was moved again, this time to the Office of the Prime Minister.

Upon establishment, the ISA was divided into units, which later became sections. These were given numbers or titles.

Section One was concerned with preventing subversion by the Israeli extreme right. In practice, this was political espionage, the collection of information about the adversaries of the then ruling party, Mapai. A great controversy arose when two ISA agents were caught on 29 January 1953 installing a bugging device in the office of Meir Ya'ari, leader of the United Workers party (Mapam). Although a Socialist Zionist party, Mapam favored the Soviet Union and Joseph Stalin. The importance of Section One declined with the rising perception of Israel as a democratic state, and political espionage was

halted. The third director of the ISA, **Amos Manor**, ordered the destruction of the section's political archive, which contained material and information on members of political parties. Under Manor's directorship, the ISA changed from an organization close to the ruling party to a state body without political affiliation.

Section Two was formed in summer 1950, after the Political Department in the Foreign Ministry was disbanded and its functions were transferred to other intelligence agencies in Israel. This section dealt with counterespionage (espionage obstruction), and it consisted of departments for obstruction of Soviet espionage; obstruction of Communist espionage (by other states in the Eastern Bloc); and obstruction of espionage by other foreigners (mainly from Western states). Section Two also had a registration department, whose function was the security filtering and examination of candidates for positions in state service and at defense plants. At the end of the 1960s, sections One and Two were merged into a new branch entitled the Branch for Prevention of Subversion and Obstruction of Espionage, better known as the "non-Arab branch" or simply the "Jewish branch." The new branch consisted of the three espionage obstruction departments that had belonged to Section Two and the department for obstruction of political subversion in the Jewish sector, the department for registration and security filtering, an archive, and a department for communication with foreign security services.

Section Three was concerned with Arab affairs, namely, monitoring and tracing the political mood of the Arabs of Israel, who at that time were under military government. Also active in this section were departments for the obstruction of espionage by Arab states—which, until the 1967 **Six-Day War**, saw most of Section Three's activity—and for prevention of hostile sabotage activity. Out of Section Three grew the division known today as the *Arab Affairs Branch*. Since the Six-Day War, the fight against subversive action in the territories and the struggle against Palestinian **terrorist** organizations have been the major missions of this branch.

"AL" was a unit concerned with new immigrants. In the early days of the state, this unit kept its finger on the pulse of new immigrants, first from Yemen and Eastern Europe, and then from Morocco and Iraq. The unit functioned only briefly and was disbanded at the time of Amos Manor's directorship of the ISA. Yet operations among new

immigrants did not cease. In the ISA there existed a nameless unit, or one isolated from the others sections and units, whose function was to obtain information on the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc by means of questioning new immigrants from Eastern Europe. The information obtained in this way was important to the State of Israel as it greatly assisted in establishing intelligence relations with the United States. The information culled from the new immigrants arriving from the countries of the Communist bloc was passed on to intelligence agencies in the United States, which at that time was locked in the Cold War and needed this information.

Section Five was responsible for the security of installations of the defense system; it was responsible for the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison**. Out of this section developed the *Protective Security* branch and MALMAB, the unit of the **director of security for the Defense Establishment** (DSDE).

There was also the *Operations Unit*, on whose foundations arose the *Operations Branch* of the ISA. From the moment of the creation of this unit until the present, this branch has been shrouded in the utmost secrecy. It is subordinate to, and directly managed by, the deputy director of the ISA. Because of the silence that surrounds this branch, hardly anything can be written about it. The Operations Unit was also responsible for the *Technical Services Unit*, which supplied eavesdropping equipment, microcameras, recording devices, invisible ink, and so forth. In the 1970s the Technical Services Unit was given the status of a branch, renamed the *Technological Branch*.

The *Interrogations Unit* was from its formation responsible for interrogations conducted by the ISA. In the 1960s the unit was given the status of a branch and renamed the *Interrogations Branch*.

Section Eight was responsible for security of installations, filling positions of security officers in government ministries, safeguarding secrets, and checking public figures. Over the years, Section Eight became the *Protective Security Branch*. Its duties include securing important infrastructure and government buildings in Israel and Israeli legations abroad and protecting flights of the Israeli airlines El Al, Arkia, and Israir. The Protective Security Branch also included the unit protecting the lives of senior Israeli public figures, ministers, and the state's president. This unit received the status of a division after the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995.

Today the ISA is responsible for security against any who seek to undermine Israel by terrorist activity or violent revolution. It is also charged with providing the IDF with intelligence to support counterterror operations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and for counterespionage.

The most notable counterespionage achievement of the ISA was the capture in 1961 of Dr. **Yisrael Baer**, who was revealed to be a Soviet spy. Baer was an IDF reserve lieutenant colonel, a senior security commentator, and a close friend of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion with access to high Israeli circles. Baer was tried and sentenced to life in prison, where he died. The same year, **Kurt Sitta**, a Christian Sudeten German who succeeded in becoming a professor at the Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology, was uncovered as a Czech spy.

After the Six-Day War, the ISA was assigned to monitor terrorist activity in the Occupied Territories. This became the organization's most salient role, but it was ill prepared for this mission and its challenges. Its workforce until then had consisted of 600 agents. The ISA director at the time, **Yosef Harmelin** (1964–1974), did not want to employ any superfluous people. He considered the ISA a solid, modest, and effective body primarily engaged in preventing espionage. In the first few years after the Six-Day War, the ISA acquired hardly any information on any of the villages in the Occupied Territories. Later, under the directorship of **Avraham Ahituv** (1974–1981), it adjusted to the new missions. Ahitov transformed the ISA, making it a fighting organization. The title of the professional in the central phalanx of the service came to be "intelligence fighter."

From 1984 to 1986 the ISA underwent a major crisis following the **Bus 300 Affair**, in which two terrorists who hijacked a bus and took hostages were executed without trial by ISA officers, who later covered the event and gave false evidence. Following the affair the ISA director at the time, **Avraham Shalom** (1981–1986), was forced to resign. The event resulted in the creation of the **Landau Commission** (1987), headed by a judge of Israel's Supreme Court, which regulated ISA interrogation methods.

Another crisis erupted in 1995 with the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin by Yigal Amir. An investigation committee found serious flaws in the personal security unit. It also revealed provocative and inciting behavior by Avishay Raviv, an agent-provocateur of the ISA

Jewish Department, who was responsible for photo-montage pictures of Rabin in Nazi SS uniform displayed at a right-wing rally, intended to provoke and inflame the audience. Following the assassination, ISA director **Carmi Gillon** (1995–1996) was forced to resign. Still, toward the end of his directorship, the ISA had scored a success with the killing of Hamas's chief bomb maker **Yahya Ayash** by planting an explosive device in his cellular phone. The operation had been carried out on the instructions of Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Gillon was replaced by reserve admiral **Ami Ayalon** (1996–2000), a nominee from outside the ISA ranks. Ayalon successfully accomplished the ISA rehabilitation necessary after Rabin's assassination and strove to regain its fine reputation. The improvement continued under Ayalon's successor, **Avraham (Avi) Dichter** (2002–2005). The ISA tightened cooperation with the IDF and the Israel Police, especially the elite police unit known by its Hebrew acronym Yamam (Yehidat Mishtara Meyuhedet).

After the 1993 Oslo Accords, the ISA was obliged to undergo a technological revolution and a complete change of its work methods. It adapted itself to collecting intelligence in areas over which the IDF no longer held control under the Oslo agreement. In addition, the ISA initiated cooperation with the Palestinian Authority.

During the Palestinian uprising known as the Al-Aqsa Intifada, which erupted in the fall of 2000 after the collapse of the Camp David Summit, the ISA reacted speedily to the Arab violence. Since then, it has become a prominent player in Israel's war against the Palestinian terrorism that has plagued Israeli cities. The ISA produces intelligence permitting the IDF to stop some of the suicide bombers before they reach their destination. This is usually done by preventive arrests and the deployment of roadblocks when there is a serious alert. The ISA cooperates with the Israel Air Force (IAF) to pinpoint and kill terror masterminds and terrorist leaders by precise air strikes. The targets are field commanders and senior leaders of Palestinian militant factions whom Israel considers terrorists, mainly those of Hamas but also of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, and Al-Fatah; there has even been one Al-Qaeda facilitator, Iyad Al-Bik. These assassinations, or "targeted killings," are usually executed by helicopter gunships. IAF commanders and ISA agents sit together at the command center monitoring the operation.

The ISA task is to provide intelligence on when and where the target will be vulnerable to the strike. The required information for a successful targeted killing is when the target is present at some spot not surrounded by civilians. The next task is to react to IAF drone feedback to be certain that the people at the site are indeed the wanted terrorists. This part is known as identification and incrimination.

The ISA has likewise succeeded in uncovering dozens of terrorist groups within the Israeli Arab population. Most of these were directed by the Iranian-Lebanese group Hizbullah and by Palestinian terrorist factions such as the aforementioned Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. In terms of quality and quantity of intelligence gathering, the ISA is considered to be one of the best intelligence services in the world. It relies mainly on human intelligence (HUMINT) from the local population for collecting information about planned terror attacks or about the location of terror leaders. The organization has enjoyed overwhelming success with informants in its targeted killings. The killing of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin on 22 March 2004 and of Abd al-Aziz Rantissi on 17 April 2004 show how deeply the ISA has penetrated the Palestinian militias. As a result, the Palestinian groups, mainly the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, have started lynching suspected collaborators or killing them on the street without trial. The ISA also extracts information by interrogating suspects.

Until the 1980s the ISA used controversial methods, including beatings, to extract information. But in 1987, after complaints of excessive use of violence in interrogations of Palestinian prisoners, the Landau Commission published a directive setting criteria for lawful interrogation methods. Only moderate physical pressure was to be permitted, and then only in the case of a "time bomb"—a terrorist attack that was about to occur so that immediate steps had to be taken to thwart it. In 1999 the Israeli Supreme Court discussed the ISA interrogation methods and ruled that physical pressure was to be banned altogether. Accordingly, the ISA now bases its interrogations on psychological pressure, in which it has become highly effective. However, complaints about physical pressure continue. In 2002 the Knesset passed the **Israeli Security Agency Law** regulating ISA activity. According to the law, the prime minister carries ministerial responsibility for this activity; the director of the ISA will serve a term of no more than five years,

except in a state of emergency. The law's provisions concerning interrogation methods have not been made public.

In 2005, at the time of writing, the ISA has reached another turning point necessitating yet another change—this time more evolutionary than revolutionary. It is required to assess opportunities of dialogue with the Palestinian Authority, in addition to threat warnings. The future challenges of the ISA are to analyze more than one scenario regarding anticipated developments. Considering that it is difficult to develop a perfect research team, the ISA is of necessity turning to academic professionals for their help. The organization is required to supply various assessments of possible upcoming political processes of negotiations in situations of uncertainty. In addition, the ISA challenge concerns the Jewish sector, especially preventing Jewish terrorism, and also focusing on subversive individuals among Israeli Arabs. Dealing with the Jewish and Arab sectors has likewise to be adjusted to the public mood, which champions human rights.

Since its establishment, the ISA had 11 directors: Isser Harel (1948–1952), **Izi Doroth** (1952–1953), Amos Manor (1953–1963), Yosef Harmelin (1964–1974 and 1986–1988), Avraham Ahituv (1974–1981), Avraham Shalom (1981–1986), **Yaakov Peri** (1988–1994), Carmi Gillon (1995–1996), Ami Ayalon (1996–2000), Avi Dichter (2000–2005), and the newly nominated **Yuval Diskin** (2005–). *See also* appendixes B and D.

ISRAELI SECURITY AGENCY (ISA) LAW. On 16 November 2002, following more than two years of fierce debate, the Knesset passed a law regulating the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). The law restricts ISA interrogators' use of force against suspected **terrorists**. It defines the ISA mandate on issues of counterterrorism, counterintelligence, and diplomatic security—and how this should be reconciled with civil rights. The most burning issue has to do with what the ISA calls "moderate physical pressure," namely, tactics such as sleep deprivation and shaking meant to coerce terror suspects into cooperating with interrogators. Human rights groups denounce the method as torture.

The new law rules out free use of such coercion by the ISA, but allows interrogators to resort to it if there is evidence the subject is withholding information on an impending terror attack, known popularly as a "time bomb." If the suspicion is borne out, the interroga-

tor is immune from prosecution. However, the part of the law on interrogation methods was not made public.

The law also ruled that the prime minister is in charge of the ISA and carries ministerial responsibility for its activity. The director of the ISA answers to the prime minister. The director of the ISA will serve for five years, unless there is a state of emergency.

– J –

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES (JCSS). Founded in 1977 as the Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, the JCSS received its current name in 1983 in honor of Mel Jaffee. The purpose of the JCSS is to conduct basic research on security-related matters, including national, regional, and international security, as well as to contribute to the public debate on the major national security issues in Israel. This academic center may be considered the academic equivalent to the **Military Intelligence** (MI) unit of the Israel Defense Forces, though its analyses are based on unclassified material.

Aharon Yariv, a former director of MI, was requested by the university to organize and manage the JCSS, which he did until shortly before his death in 1994. Since Yariv's departure, the JCSS has been headed by Professor Ze'ev Maoz (1994–1997), Dr. Shai Feldman (1997–2005), and Dr. Zvi Shtauber (2005–). *See also* BEGIN-SADAT (BESA) CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES; INTERNATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM; MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

JOKLIK, OTTO. Dr. Otto Joklik, an Austrian adventurer and former **Mossad** agent, was involved in the **Damocles Operation** and was arrested by the Swiss police for threatening **Heide Görke**, the daughter of one of the German scientists working in Egypt on the development of missiles. *See also* BEN-GAL, YOSEF.

– K –

KAHAN COMMISSION (1982–1983). As a result of the 1982 events at the refugee camps in Beirut, on 28 September 1982 the Israeli

government resolved to establish a commission of inquiry in accordance with the Israeli Commissions of Inquiry Law of 1968. The commission determined on 7 February 1983 that the massacre on 16 September 1982 at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Beirut was carried out by a Lebanese Phalangist unit, acting on its own, but that its entry was known to Israel.

No Israeli was directly responsible for the events that occurred in the camps; however, the commission asserted that Israel carried indirect responsibility for the massacre since the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) held control of the area. Prime Minister Menachem Begin was found accountable for not exercising greater involvement and awareness regarding the Phalangist entry into the camps. Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was found accountable for ignoring the danger of bloodshed and revenge when he approved the Phalangist entry and for not taking appropriate measures to prevent bloodshed. Foreign Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** erred by not taking action after being alerted by Communications Minister Mordechai Zippori. Chief of the General Staff Rafael Eitan did not give the appropriate orders to prevent the massacre. The commission recommended the resignation of the defense minister and the removal of the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), Major General **Yehoshua Saguy**, from his position for nonfulfillment of his duty: He did not pay sufficient attention to the decision to send the Phalangists into the camps, nor did he forewarn, after the murder of Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel, of the danger of acts of revenge and bloodshed by these forces against the Palestinian population in West Beirut, especially in the refugee camps.

The Kahan Commission concluded that the **Mossad** was the organization that actually handled relations between the Phalangists and Israel. Its representatives maintained close contacts with the Phalangist leadership. MI participated, albeit in a more limited capacity, in the contacts with the Phalangists; its task was to issue a considerable number of evaluation papers on the Phalangists, their leaders, their aims, and their fighting ability. However, both the Mossad and MI specifically dealt with drawing up these evaluations, and each organization was obliged to bring its assessments to the attention of all interested parties. Neither the director of the Mossad nor the MI director disagreed with the conclusions of the Kahan Commission.

KALMANOVITCH, SHABTAI (1947–). Born in Lithuania, Kalmanovitch trained as a chemical engineer. Soon after his studies, he joined the Soviet Red Army. When his army commanders learned that his family was planning emigration to Israel, he was summoned to the Jewish administration of the Soviet KGB and was recruited for espionage missions in Israel in return for expediting the emigration procedures for himself and his family. When he immigrated to Israel in 1971, he was already a KGB agent.

Kalmanovitch was instructed by his Soviet case officer to make his way into a position in Israeli society that would enable him to collect information, especially on Israeli institutions such as **Nativ**, which were involved in "anti-Soviet activities" in the Soviet Union. The KGB funded investments for him in Israel, and he soon became a wealthy businessman. His wealth helped him to attract friends among Israelis of the high echelons, including generals in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Several of these were intelligence officers. Brigadier General **Dov Tamari** became a close friend of Kalmanovitch, who invited Tamari on a short African tour as domestic security consultant, with all Tamari's expenses paid. He also made contacts with members of the Israeli Knesset and invited government ministers to lavish parties at his villa in a rich neighborhood of north Tel Aviv. Kalmanovitch boasted that even the door to Prime Minister Golda Meir was open to him.

However, his frequent trips to East Germany and the Soviet Union aroused the suspicion of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), which eventually found evidence that Kalmanovitch was providing information to Communist agents of Eastern European countries. Kalmanovitch was caught at the peak of his financial power. In 1988 he was tried and found guilty of espionage and sentenced to nine years in prison, although his espionage had not caused serious damage. Kalmanovitch was released from prison in the first half of 1993, officially for good behavior. In fact his behavior was unsatisfactory, and he was even suspected of bribing his jailers. Actually, he was released for other reasons.

Kalmanovitch's business partner was Josef Kobzon, a member of the Russian Duma. Kobzon gave assurances to the Israeli leaders that after Kalmanovitch's release from prison, he would work for the resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and Russia. Kobzon had many unofficial contacts with Israeli government

ministers. He was also a close friend of Boris Rotskoy, the deputy of President Boris Yeltsin. Rotskoy was subsequently arrested in Russia following the failed coup in the fall of 1993. Kobzon's request for Kalmanovitch's release created the impression in Israel that Kalmanovitch was a senior Soviet spy. In fact, the Soviet authorities deemed him no more than a low-level assistant. However, in Israel it was thought that if an apparently senior Soviet spy were released at the Soviets' request this might indeed initiate the diplomatic process between the two countries.

The second reason for the release of Kalmanovitch was his allegedly failing health. **Uri Lubrani**, then coordinator of Israeli government activities in Lebanon, recommended Kalmanovitch's release on these grounds. In fact Lubrani wanted to do a good turn for Jamil Sa'idi, a businessman from Sierra Leone who had commercial connections with Kalmanovitch. Sa'idi was a distant relative of Nabil Beri, head of the Amal movement in Lebanon. Amal then held the Israeli navigator Ron Arad, and there was a hope that the release of Kalmanovitch would initiate moves leading to the freeing of Arad. Kalmanovitch, still in prison, helped to arrange a meeting of his lawyer Amnon Zikhroni, a **Mossad** representative, and an ISA representative in Paris with Sa'idi.

Israel maintained that in addition to Kalmanovitch's good behavior in prison, his release was in return for the freeing from a Russian prison of 20 Jewish would-be emigrants to Israel whose applications had been rejected. This was not the real reason. On his release Kalmanovitch declared his intention to stay in Israel, but he soon left the country for Russia to manage his business there. Nothing came of any of Israel's hopes generated by his release.

KANFANI, GHASSAN. Kanfani is considered one of the great Palestinian writers in the period after 1948. A native of Acre, in the 1960s he lived in Beirut and became the chief spokesman of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the group headed by George Habash. He was killed on 8 July 1972 when his car was blown up, allegedly by the **Mossad**. *See also* TERRORISM; WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

KANJ, KAMAL. *See* GRABLI, RAPHAEL.

KARON, DAVID (1915–?). Born in Russia, Karon went to Palestine in 1931 to study agriculture and then returned home. In the Spanish Civil War, he fought with the Polish battalion of the International Brigade. Then he returned to Palestine, where he acquired many friends in the Arab community and learned Arabic. On the strength of his military experience and Arab connections, he joined the Arab Department intelligence unit established by **Ezra Danin**. Karon remained a member of the Arab Department after its incorporation into the **Information Service** in 1940. In Israel's 1948–1949 War of Independence, Karon served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) as a combat intelligence officer of the Negev region; from late 1948 to 1949 he commanded the regional combat intelligence officers' unit of the IDF.

KASTEL, LILY (?–1970). Kastel joined the **Mossad** in 1954 after serving in the **Information Service**. She spoke excellent English, French, German, and Hebrew and good Arabic and Italian. Her formal job in the Mossad was desk director. Her extraordinary talents made Kastel a legend in the Mossad, and the legend has lived on after her death.

KASTNER, ISRAEL (1914–1957). In 1954 a 71-year-old Hungarian Jew, Malkiel Greenwald, accused another Hungarian Jew, 48-year-old Dr. Israel Kastner—both living in Israel—of collaborating with the Nazis in Hungary in 1944–1945. Greenwald had arrived in Palestine in 1938, and in pamphlets he mailed to members of the Mizrahi political party he accused Kastner of assisting the Nazis in their extermination of some 500,000 Hungarian Jews and called for a public inquiry. The Israeli government initiated a libel action against the accuser, Greenwald.

Kastner had held various leadership roles in the Jewish community in Hungary during the war. He arrived in Palestine in 1946 and joined the Israeli Workers party (Mapai). After the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, he occupied several prominent positions, among them spokesman of the Trade and Industry Ministry; director of Israel Radio broadcasts in Hungarian and Romanian; editor-in-chief of *Uj Kelet*, the Hungarian-language daily newspaper published in Israel; and chairman of the Association of Hungarian Jews.

On the evening of 4 March 1957, Kastner was shot to death outside his house by Ze'ev Ekstein, who was then driven away by Dan

Shemer in a stolen jeep. Shemer and Ekstein were former employees of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). The police arrested them in their homes that same night. By the next morning, the police had their confessions to the crime. A third man involved in the murder, Yoseph Menkes, was arrested a little later.

On the day of the assassination, an ISA agent had warned his superiors that the assassination would take place that night, but no precautions were taken. There were rumors and accusations that the ISA was involved in the murder in order to silence Kastner and prevent him from disclosing embarrassing details about the alleged connections of the Mapai leadership with Nazi Germany. This rumor arose by virtue of the fact that one of the three young men charged with the murder had in the past been linked publicly with the ISA and had been sent as an informer to a group that was connected with the underground movement in Israel.

It will never be known if indeed the assassination was arranged by the Israeli government to remove a man who could be an embarrassment and who threatened to become a perpetual liability. What had become clear after the killing was that Kastner, in his capacity as a Jewish community leader in Hungary, had in fact provided indispensable assistance to SS Lieutenant Colonel Adolf Eichmann in the latter's efforts to transport half a million Hungarian and Transylvanian Jews to the Nazi extermination camps. At the time Eichmann was head of the Gestapo department in charge of Jewish matters and population evacuation. Eichmann had been largely responsible for the deportation to the East of nearly 190,000 Austrian Jews from March 1938 onward. He had also participated in the January 1942 Wannsee Conference, where the administrative and logistical details of the "final solution to the Jewish problem" were settled. He was not a policy maker in the Third Reich, and his activities and decisions were mostly bureaucratic. His role, on arriving in Budapest in March 1944, was to send the half-million Hungarian Jews to their deaths as swiftly and efficiently as possible. *See also* EICHMANN'S CAPTURE.

KEDAR, MORDECHAI (MOTKE). Born in the early 1930s in Israel as Mordechai Kravitzki. During Israel's 1948–1949 War of Independence, Kedar was drafted into the Israeli Navy, but was dismissed from service because of disciplinary problems. He returned to his hometown

Hadera and in the early 1950s became the leader of a criminal gang that stole cars and handled stolen property. Even the gang members were afraid of him. On one occasion, Kedar was arrested under suspicion of a bank robbery and a possible murder, but was released due to insufficient evidence. He then moved to Tel Aviv and joined in the city's bohemian life. He underwent treatment by one of the best-known psychologists in Tel Aviv, who was also working for Israeli intelligence. The psychologist discerned in Kedar the talents appropriate for a spy, and he recommended Kedar to the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), Major General **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, for clandestine missions. Harkabi decided to recruit Kedar to **Unit 131**.

In March 1957, Colonel **Yuval Ne'eman** of MI briefed Kedar at a Tel Aviv café before sending him abroad to Buenos Aires to establish a cover story. In Buenos Aires, Kedar was warmly received by Kalman Klein, who was affiliated with Israeli intelligence in Argentina and was known by his codename "Pedro." Kedar told Klein that he knew about a secret meeting to be held in Buenos Aires between an Israeli army general and an Egyptian army general with the purpose of initiating a peace process between the two countries. Toward that end, he claimed that he needed some $500,000 to bribe the Egyptian general and to rent a secret apartment. Klein, with his powerful Zionist feelings, did his best to satisfy the request. Since he was unable to obtain the full amount requested (a small fortune in the 1950s), he withdrew his own savings and borrowed from friends, still managing to collect only $80,000. Klein rented an apartment, with its address kept secret at Kedar's request. When Klein entered the secret apartment with the money, Kedar stabbed him to death and escaped to Paris. There he went to the Israeli embassy and told officials that his cover had been blown and that he was being sought by enemies who wanted to kill him. He asked for assistance to get back to Israel.

However, the embassy staff was fully aware of the actual course of events that had transpired in Buenos Aires. When Klein did not return home that fateful day, his wife called the police and gave them the address of the apartment where her husband had gone, without revealing her husband's purpose in going there. The police broke open the apartment door and found Klein dead. The Argentinean authorities, who realized that the murder had been perpetrated by an Israeli, informed Israeli authorities.

When Kedar landed in Israel, he was arrested as he exited the plane. He was tried in early 1962 in a military court and sentenced to life in prison, where he was known as "Prisoner-X." He was freed after 17 years. A fellow convict in the Ramle jail was **Avraham (Avri) Elad**, who was sentenced for treason in maintaining contacts with a foreign intelligence agency. The details of this story, which were not published for a long time, illustrate the problem of finding the right people for espionage missions. Although the suitable person for clandestine operations may well be one with criminal traits, on the other hand he may not be trustworthy.

KEDMI, YA'ACOV (1950–). Born Yasha Kazakob in Russia, in 1969 by pure chance Kedmi obtained an exit visa from the Soviet Union and immigrated to Israel. In the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Kedmi was a comrade-in-arms of future Israeli prime minister **Ehud Barak**. Later he became active in Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel and in trying to prevent emigrants from moving to the United States, as many did in those days. The Israeli high echelons asked him to work on this matter secretly. During Menachem Begin's premiership, Kedmi joined **Nativ**, and in 1992 he was appointed its director, replacing **David Bar-Tov**. Under Kedmi, Nativ was accused of spending money without proper accounting. Some even demanded the disbanding of Nativ, which competed with the other Israeli intelligence organizations. This did not materialize, but because of strained relations with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Kedmi resigned from Nativ in 1999. He became a supporter of Barak in his campaign for the Israeli premiership. However, Kedmi did not himself enter politics at once, as many anticipated, but went into private business. Later he established a political party for new immigrants, but he was never elected to the Knesset.

KELMAN, URIEL. *See* NEW ZEALAND PASSPORTS.

KHALAF, SALAH (1934–1991). Better known as Abu Iyad. In 1948 Khalaf fled Jaffa, the town of his birth. He studied in Cairo in the 1950s and was a founder-member of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) in Egypt, and Yasser Arafat's assistant in it (1952); a founder-member of Al-Fatah (1958–1959); security and counterintelligence executive officer of the Palestine Liberalization Organiza-

tion (PLO); and spiritual godfather and chief of Black September Organization. He was the PLO's third-ranking member after Arafat and Abu Jihad, regarded as one of the movement's most moderate and pragmatic figures. Khalaf was assassinated on 14 January 1991 in Tunis by a Palestinian gunman, Hamza Abu Zid, a member of the Abu Nidal group who had switched allegiance to Fatah. During the interrogation, the assassin told his PLO captors that he was in fact a double agent who was still working for Abu Nidal and had been ordered to kill Khalaf. Since the assassination took place just one day prior to the launching of the Desert Storm operation against Iraq, there was room to consider a possible interest of the United States and Israel in removing an experienced PLO operator at the time of the battle. Israel had a long and bloody account to settle with Khalaf, but on the other hand, Israel had been specifically requested by the United States to maintain regional quiet. It must be assumed that the truth of who was behind the killing will never be known.

KHALED MASH'AL FIASCO. On 24 September 1997 members of the Kidon subunit of the **Mossad** flew separately from Tel Aviv via Athens, Paris, and Rome to Amman, Jordan, where they checked in as tourists at the Intercontinental Hotel. Several of them traveled on French and Italian passports. Two of them, who were using fake Canadian passports in the names of Barry Beads and Sean Kendall, were to execute the team's mission, which was to assassinate Khaled Mash'al. Mash'al was a leader of the Hamas, believed by the Israeli government to be behind many terrorist attacks that cost the lives of Israeli civilians. The Israeli **Committee X**, chaired at that time by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, had decided on the assassination. The prime minister also resolved that the mission be accomplished on Jordanian soil. Although Mash'al resided in Jordan, this was a curious decision considering the extremely delicate Israeli-Jordanian relations after the two countries signed a peace treaty in 1994.

The day after their arrival, "Beads" and "Kendall" attempted to poison Mash'al in a crowded Amman street by spraying him with a nerve agent in an aerosol can, but they managed to use only half the can's contents. The attack was observed, and the two fled; Mash'al was rushed to a hospital and placed on a respirator. The support members of the Kidon unit succeeded in leaving Jordan on their fake documents,

but the would-be assassins were caught and arrested by the Jordanian police and interrogated.

This fiasco caused enormous embarrassment to both governments and jeopardized Israel's relations with one of its very few Middle Eastern allies. King Hussein threatened Netanyahu that he would put "Beads" and "Kendall" on trial if the Mossad did not immediately provide an antidote to save Mash'al's life. If Israel did not cooperate, the agents' confessions to interrogators would be sent to U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, their false Canadian passports would be made available to the media, and the whole affair would balloon into an international scandal. Israel acceded to King Hussein's demands, and **Danny Yatom**, the Mossad director, went to Amman in an attempt to appease the king.

The antidote was provided and Mash'al's life was saved. Israel's tactics in such clandestine operations were fully exposed; it is doubtful that that particular one will ever be tried again, anywhere. The antidote for this specific poison is now known. Furthermore, at the demand of Hussein, Israel released the Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin, imprisoned in Israel for his role in terrorist acts. The two Mossad agents were delivered to the Canadian embassy in Amman. Later they were driven across the Allenby Bridge from Jordan to Israel. The Israeli government assured the Canadian government that it would never again use false Canadian documents, and the Canadian authorities remained silent. *See also* BEN-DAVID, MOSHE.

KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH. On 25 February 1956, at a secret session of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Nikita Khrushchev, the party first secretary, launched an extraordinary attack on the policies of his late predecessor, Joseph Stalin. Khrushchev denounced Stalin's cult of personality and his apparent support for the concept of individuality. He denounced Stalin's supporters for a list of crimes they had committed against humanity, many of which had previously been denied by the Soviet Union. The speech was not intended for anyone other than the Communist delegates from party branches across the Soviet bloc, as it was essentially a quiet reversal of years of Soviet propaganda, which had maintained that Stalin was a wise, peaceful, and fair leader.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the British MI5 wanted a copy of this secret speech to expose Stalin's real face to the

world. The CIA offered $1 million for a copy, but because the CPSU Congress was so secret, it was impossible to get an agent inside. According to one version of the story, an Israeli **Mossad** agent was secretly present at the meeting and obtained a copy of Khrushchev's speech. Another version credits Victor Gregevsky, a young Jewish journalist in the Polish news agency. Forty years later, Gregevsky in an interview on Israeli television told the story of how he had obtained the speech.

Gregevsky had believed deeply in Marxism until he lost faith when he learned of Stalin's totalitarianism in the early 1950s. His family had immigrated to Israel and he considered following them, but he decided to wait for a while. Soon after the CPSU congress, Gregevsky met Lucia Brenovsky, who had a senior job in the Warsaw branch of the Communist party and became her friend. During a visit to her office, Gregevsky noticed on her desk a 58-page copy of Khrushchev's speech. He asked her if he could borrow it, and she agreed. After photocopying the pages, Gregevsky returned the original to her. He examined its details and decided to hand the copy of Khrushchev's speech over to the Israeli embassy in Warsaw. It was sent in a diplomatic bag to Israel, where it caught the attention of Israeli leaders, who sensed that providing the West with a copy of the speech could potentially promote the value of Israeli intelligence in the CIA's eyes. On receiving the document, the CIA at first suspected a fraud. But within a few days, its value was grasped and the speech was circulated over all the Western media, causing massive embarrassment to the Soviet Union.

KIDON. *See* MOSSAD; WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

KILOWATT GROUP. International cooperation between intelligence services is by default bilateral, but close coordination in and around Europe is achieved informally through the so-called Bern Club, formed in 1971. "Kilowatt" is the codename of the International Counterterrorist Intelligence Network. This group was formed in 1977 at the instigation of Israel and largely in response to the 1972 **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games. The purpose of the Kilowatt Group was to ensure the free flow of intelligence about **terrorist** groups and political extremists through a secure telex clearinghouse network.

The members of the Kilowatt Group are the European Union countries; Canada; Norway; Switzerland; the United States, represented by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI); South Africa; and Israel with the **Mossad** and **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). The group is dominated by Israel because of its strong position in information exchange on Arab-based terror groups in Europe and the Middle East. Since 1977 the Kilowatt Group may have changed its name, and probably its codename, to another that is not yet known publicly.

It is believed that the Mossad's links with the German Intelligence Services (BND) undoubtedly hold the most comprehensive registry of information on international terrorism and political extremism, using high-speed, hyperencrypted communications known as "C37A" from a signals intelligence (SIGINT) site near Tel Aviv and "6XM8" from a similar site at Monschau, near Hoefen, on the Belgian border. **Unit 8200**, with its huge SIGINT facilities just outside Herzliya near Tel Aviv, and the ISA feed their information straight to the Situation Information Center of the Kilowatt Group. It is believed that the Mossad supplies the CIA with information on terrorism and extremists, especially those of the Middle East.

In 1991 it emerged that Israeli Mossad agents were operating illegally on Norwegian territory, posing as Norwegian police, with the consent and support of Norwegian security. The disguised Israelis interrogated Palestinians seeking asylum in Norway. The Israeli-Norwegian operation was run within the framework of the Kilowatt Group.

KIMCHE, DAVID (DAVE) (1928–). Born in England to an Eastern European Jewish family that moved to Switzerland and then to Britain, Kimche as a Zionist immigrated to Palestine in 1946 but retained his British habits. He worked for a while as a night editor at the *Jerusalem Post.* After failing to pass an entrance exam for the Israeli Foreign Ministry, he embarked on academic studies on the Middle East. In 1953 he was recruited to the **Mossad**. Kimche's quiet and cultivated demeanor, his polished un-Israeli English, and his ability to blend into almost any crowd suited him perfectly as a man for Mossad missions abroad.

In the Mossad, Kimche was an agent recruiter and runner. In 1954, while going through a list of potential recruits, Kimche discovered **Avraham (Avri) Elad**'s connections with Osman Nuri, head of the Egyptian intelligence, and his attempts to sell Israeli military documents to Nuri. In the 1950s and 1960s Kimche conducted Mossad missions, mainly in Africa and Asia, as an Israeli diplomat with the cover name David Sharon or as a British businessman. Journalists then covering Africa believed that Kimche's activities were part of an Israeli effort to establish ties with non-Arab entities on the "periphery" of the Middle East such as Iran and Turkey (*see* PERIPHERY DOCTRINE). Kimche habitually appeared in an African country a day or two before a major coup and left a week later after the new regime was firmly in control, often having been aided by Israeli security teams. One of Israel's protégés in Africa whom Kimche helped to groom was Colonel Idi Amin of Uganda. In May 1965 Kimche was involved in the **Ben-Barka Affair**. His task was to evaluate the request of King Hassan of Morocco to the Mossad to assist him in assassinating Mehdi Ben-Barka.

Kimche also traveled frequently to Iran during the shah's regime, where he developed a close friendship with **Ya'acov Nimrodi**, then the Israeli military attaché in Tehran, who became an arms dealer after his retirement from the army. Kimche also served for several years as the Mossad liaison with the Maronite community in Lebanon, a role that would come to haunt him later. He made a major effort to shore up the power of Christian ethnic groups and other approachable entities in Africa, by befriending military cliques affiliated with them.

As many emerging Third World countries that fell under the influence of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser adopted an increasingly hostile attitude toward Israel, Kimche used Israeli aid packages, including military training and support, in an attempt to establish Israeli footholds in developing countries as distant as Costa Rica, Panama, Singapore, and Thailand.

Kimche used his firsthand knowledge of the Third World to conduct doctoral research on this subject. His dissertation, submitted to Tel Aviv University, included profiles of the new leaders of several developing nations. He also taught Third World politics on the interservice course of Israel's intelligence community.

Although Kimche was regarded as apolitical, he identified himself with the Israeli Labor party. At the time of the 1977 general elections, Kimche was concerned that the Likud party would defeat Labor because of the latter's pragmatic stance on political matters. But when the Likud did in fact form a government, under Menachem Begin, the new prime minister's first step was to appoint Moshe Dayan, a Labor politician, to be foreign minister. A few months after Begin came to power, he requested Kimche, by now deputy director of the Mossad, to utilize his relations with the Moroccan Secret Service to persuade King Hassan to play the role of middleman between Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. Morocco thus became the venue for several secret meetings between Israeli and Egyptian officials that preceded Sadat's visit to Israel and the subsequent Egyptian-Israeli peace process. In particular, Kimche accompanied Dayan to a critical meeting in Morocco with Egypt's deputy prime minister, Hassan Tohami.

The initiation of the peace process with Egypt altered Kimche's attitude toward the Likud. In 1980 Begin even considered making Kimche director of the Mossad, to succeed **Yitzhak Hofi**. The new foreign minister, **Yitzhak Shamir**, also supported the nomination of Kimche, who in the Mossad had won a reputation for keen perception and excellent analysis. But Hofi, with whom Kimche had strained relations, vetoed the plan, accusing Kimche of plotting against him and of trying to establish a personal bureaucratic and financial empire within the Mossad. The struggle between the two threatened to turn into a major scandal; after a bitter row with Hofi, Kimche resigned from the Mossad.

Kimche then approached the *Jerusalem Post* for a position on the daily's staff. He had published many articles under various pseudonyms while still serving in the Mossad, particularly on Third World countries. The editor and the owners of the newspaper hoped that Kimche's international reputation would help turn the *Jerusalem Post* into a major global medium. However, the editorial staff rebelled against the nomination of a former intelligence official.

Foreign Minister Shamir, himself a former Mossad official, then offered Kimche the post of director-general of the Foreign Ministry. He accepted the job and approached it still with the mind of a Mossad officer. Because of his highly developed relations with the Maronite community in Lebanon, Kimche became one of the architects of Is-

rael's 1982 Peace for Galilee Operation, Israel's invasion of Lebanon. The ill-starred outcome of this operation began the destruction of Kimche's reputation as a cautious intelligence officer. Kimche tried to use his connections in the Israeli press, albeit with little success, to distance himself from some of the more precarious policies of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon in Lebanon.

Missing his clandestine activity, in 1982 Kimche masterminded an elaborate arms sales deal with Iran, later known as the **Irangate Affair**. The affair revealed Kimche's enormous power in the Israeli foreign policy establishment. After the Irangate scandal, Kimche resigned from his Foreign Ministry post to enter "private business." He worked with the mysterious Shaul Eisenberg, whose arms dealings made him the richest man in Israel. Kimche through his "private business" had a key role in expanding Israeli arms exports to China.

KING HUSSEIN'S WARNING. On 25 September 1973, just 12 days before the start of the **Yom Kippur War**, King Hussein, ruler of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, met Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir in the guest room of a **Mossad** facility at Pi Glilot, north of Tel Aviv. The king, who had initiated this urgent meeting, risking his own life and the future of his monarchy, warned the prime minister that the Israeli-Arab diplomatic impasse would lead to a war, which Egypt and Syria were intent on launching. Others present at the meeting included Mordechai Gazit, director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, and Lou Keidar, Meir's assistant and confidant. The discussion was transmitted by closed circuit television to a screen in the next room and watched by the prime minister's military secretary, Brigadier General Yisrael Lior, and Lieutenant Colonel **Zusia Knizer**, head of the Jordan desk of the Research Department of **Military Intelligence** (MI).

The prime minister also shared the information she received from Hussein with her defense minister, Moshe Dayan, whom she consulted on whether to cancel her forthcoming visit to the Socialist International convention at Strasbourg. Dayan replied that Hussein's warning conveyed nothing new and there was no reason for her to change her plans. Keidar's conclusion, on the other hand, was that the prime minister must prepare for war. Meir herself reportedly simply did not believe King Hussein. The director of MI, **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**, in his subsequent book on the role of intelligence on the eve

of the Yom Kippur War, flatly blamed Meir for not requesting the king to be more specific and divulge when war was going to erupt. He also criticized Meir for not informing the **Agranat Commission** about the king's warning.

However, recent studies maintain that the king did not know many details about the impending war. After the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Hussein had met secretly and regularly with Israeli leaders on issues common to the two countries. He consistently stated that he had no intention of taking any military initiative. He had met Meir and Dayan on 9 May 1973, and then too warned of an Egyptian intention to go to war. At the 25 September meeting, Hussein did indeed warn of a Syrian attack on the Golan Heights, and the logical inference to be drawn, Knizer later concluded, was that there would be a joint Syrian-Egyptian attack. Professor Avi Shlaim of Oxford University met with King Hussein about two years before the king's death as part of a research study on peacemaking efforts in the Middle East. The king at that time denied that he had known a war was about to erupt. Still, the information relayed to Meir did not absolve Zeira of responsibility for the intelligence failure. Zeira received a detailed account of the meeting and decided nonetheless to downplay it. Apparently, the prevailing **Concept** at that time—that Egypt was not ready for war and Syria would not wage war without Egypt—was so dominant that even if President Anwar Sadat himself had met Meir to warn her that he was bent on war, she would probably not have believed him.

KLINGBERG, AVRAHAM MARCUS (1920–). Born in Poland, at the beginning of World War II Klingberg evaded the Nazis and the war by escaping to the Soviet Union. There he studied medicine. In 1948 he immigrated to Israel and served as a doctor in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF); however, there were rumors that he was an officer of the Soviet KGB. After leaving the IDF, he taught medicine for several years at Tel Aviv University. At the same time, he steadily rose to the summit of one of Israel's most sensitive institutions: the top secret Biological Institute in Nes Tsiona (south of Tel Aviv), where Israel allegedly produced—and perhaps still produces—biological weapons. From 1957 to 1975 he occupied the position of vice president of the institute.

Klingberg contacted the Soviet Union for the first time in 1957, and soon afterward he started his espionage activity. The **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and the **Mossad** began to suspect Klingberg of espionage, but shadowing him brought no results. At one point Klingberg took a lie detector test, which he passed.

In January 1983, during Klingberg's vice presidency of the Nes Tsiona institute, ISA officers devised a plan to detain him. Impersonating Mossad officials, they informed him that they wanted to send him as a consultant to Malaysia, where a chemical plant had supposedly exploded.

A few days later, he was taken ostensibly to the Tel Aviv airport but actually to an apartment where he was interrogated. For some 10 days, the ISA interrogators browbeat Klingberg and finally wrung from him a detailed confession of his relations with the Soviet Union. He asserted that he had received no payment for the information he provided. He was arrested, tried for passing secrets to the Soviet Union, and sentenced to 20 years in prison. His arrest and conviction were kept secret from the public for a decade.

In 1989, Israeli attorney Amnon Zichroni, representing Klingberg, received permission to negotiate an agreement whereby East Germany and the Soviet Union would exchange Klingberg, as well as **Shabtai Kalmanovitch**, for hard information about Israeli navigator Ron Arad who had been captured when his aircraft was shot down in Israel's military operation in Lebanon in 1986. The deal came to naught with the collapse of the Communist bloc.

In 1997 Amnesty International called on the Israeli government to release Klingberg or transfer him to a less stressful environment because of his failing health. A year later, Klingberg was moved to house arrest. A camera was installed in his apartment, which was connected to the **director of security for the Defense Establishment** offices in Tel Aviv. His telephones were wiretapped, with his knowledge. Klingberg also signed a commitment not to speak about his work. After his release from custody in 2003 he left Israel for Paris, where his daughter Sylvia and his granddaughter were living.

KNIZER, ZUSIA (ZIZI) (1938–). A veteran intelligence expert, Major Knizer headed the basic research section and the Egyptian army section in **Branch 6** (the Egypt, Sudan, and North Africa desk) in the

Research Department of **Military Intelligence** (MI) in 1967–1971. He was then promoted to lieutenant colonel and until the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** headed **Branch 2** (the Jordan desk). In this capacity, Knizer was invited to attend a meeting between King Hussein of Jordan and Israeli prime minister Golda Meir on 25 September 1973.

Knizer was instructed to treat the meeting with Hussein and its contents as highly classified material. However, because of the real danger that Syria and Egypt might go to war against Israel, late at night after the meeting, Knizer called the head of **Branch 5** (the Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq desk), Lieutenant Colonel **Aviezer (Avik) Ya'ari**, and advised him to put the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Northern Command on alert. Ya'ari indeed called the intelligence officer of Northern Command, Lieutenant Colonel Hagai Mann, who alerted the head of Northern Command, Major General **Yitzhak Hofi**.

When news of this breach of instructions reached Brigadier General **Aryeh Shalev**, the assistant director of MI for research, he summoned Knizer and Ya'ari. Shalev rebuked Knizer for ignoring orders not to speak of Hussein's meeting with Meir to anyone. Ya'ari was taken to task for contacting Northern Command without authorization from his superiors.

The Israeli establishment did not take **King Hussein's warning** very seriously, mainly due to the prevailing **Concept** that Egypt was unprepared for war and Syria would not launch a war without Egypt. The question is whether Knizer read Hussein's warning differently from and better than his superiors, or the warning was not substantial and Knizer merely took it too seriously. The **Agranat Commission** on Israel's lack of military preparedness for the 1973 war praised Ya'ari for his action of alerting those for whom Hussein's warning might be relevant. Knizer was not summoned to testify before the commission; this was a positive sign, as the commission called all those it deemed responsible for the **mehdal** and recommended their dismissal from their positions.

On 8 October 1973, during the war, Knizer replaced Lieutenant Colonel **Yonah Bendman** as head of the Egyptian desk (Branch 6), who was removed from office due to his failure to assess correctly the possibility of war. After the war Knizer returned to head Branch 2, and later he was assigned to other missions in the MI research section. Knizer retired from the IDF in 1984 as a colonel. In civilian life,

he worked for the security division in the state comptroller's office and gained a master's degree in the national security program at the University of Haifa.

KOKAS, ALCIBIADES. A Greek national, Kokas visited Israel a number of times in the 1950s. Under the cover of a businessman, he attempted to set up an espionage network in Israel working for Egyptian intelligence. He was arrested in 1957 and sentenced to four years in prison.

KOLLEK, TEDDY (1911–). Born in Vienna, Kollek immigrated to Israel in 1934. Beginning just before the outbreak of World War II, he served abroad in many capacities. Early in his career, he represented Jewish interests in Europe. In 1939 he met Adolf Eichmann and arranged for the transfer of 3,000 young Jews to England. From 1940 to 1947 Kollek served as **Reuven Shiloah**'s deputy in the Political Department of the **Information Service**. In this role he worked with the Jewish Agency in Europe, maintaining close contact with the Jewish underground movement, and he was involved in the **Briha** rescue operation. From 1947 to 1948 he represented the Haganah underground militia in Washington, D.C., and assisted in amassing essential ammunition for the fledgling army of the Israeli state-to-be.

After Israel's statehood in 1948, Kollek served as minister to Washington early in the 1950s, but being closely associated with Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, Kollek returned to Israel in 1952 to assume the post of director-general of the Prime Minister's Office. He held this position until 1964. In 1965 Kollek was elected mayor of Jerusalem, an office he held for the next 28 years.

KONSEPTZIA. *See* CONCEPT, THE.

KUBAISI, BASIL RAOUD. Also known as Bassel Rauf Kubeisy. A professor of law, Kubaisi served the Palestinians as the logistics coordinator for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine headed by George Habash. In March 1973 he arrived in Paris and stayed at a small hotel near the Place de la Madeleine. Kubaisi was photographed meeting with Palestinian **terrorists** and thus became a target for killing by **Committee X**. The main accusation against him was that he

was the mastermind of an abortive plan to assassinate Prime Minister Golda Meir during her visit in New York in 1969. A car rigged with explosives found close to the El Al terminal at Kennedy Airport was defused in due time. Kubaisi was allegedly Habash's deputy also.

On the night of 6 April 1973, a **Mossad** team was awaiting Kubaisi as he returned to his hotel from a meeting. As the team members surveyed the scene, a car driven by a Parisian lady of the night chanced to draw up beside the hotel; she invited Kubaisi for a "drive." He accepted the offer and got in. The team's dilemma was whether to cancel the killing or to assume that the woman would drive him back to the hotel. The second alternative was chosen, and Kubaisi indeed returned. About to enter his hotel, he saw the men of the Mossad team standing with their pistols; he shouted out, but he was shot dead in the street.

– L –

LAKAM. *See* BUREAU OF SCIENTIFIC LIAISON.

LANDAU COMMISSION. Officially the Landau Commission of Inquiry into the Methods of Investigation of the ISA Regarding Hostile Terrorist Activities, this was an Israeli government committee initially appointed in 1987 to investigate allegations of torture by the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). The commission, headed by former Supreme Court president justice Moshe Landau, published on 30 October 1987 a set of classified guidelines intended to regulate interrogation methods. To compile its recommendations, the Landau Commission examined international human rights law standards, existing Israeli legislation prohibiting torture and maltreatment, and guidelines of other democracies confronted with the threat of **terrorism**.

The commission recommended that in dealing with dangerous terrorists who represent a grave threat to the State of Israel and its citizens, the use of a moderate degree of pressure, including physical pressure, in order to obtain crucial information, was unavoidable under certain circumstances. Such circumstances included situations in which information sought from a detainee believed to be personally involved in serious terrorist activities could prevent imminent mur-

der, or where the detainee possessed vital information, such as the location of arms or caches of explosives for planned acts of terrorism by a terrorist organization, which could not be uncovered by information from any other source.

The commission also recognized the danger posed to the democratic values of the State of Israel should its agents abuse their power by using unnecessary or unduly harsh forms of pressure. As a result, the commission recommended that psychological forms of pressure be used predominantly, and that only "moderate physical pressure," which was not unknown in other democratic countries, be sanctioned in limited cases where the degree of anticipated danger was considerable. The commission was aware that the issue of moderate pressure during interrogation was both serious and sensitive. The guidelines regarding interrogation provided for limited forms of pressure under very specific circumstances, to be determined on a case-by-case basis.

To ensure that disproportionate pressure was not used, the Landau Commission identified several principles, which were adopted. The first was that disproportionate exertion of pressure on the suspect was not permissible. That is, pressure must never reach the level of physical torture or grievous harm to the suspects that would deprive them of their human dignity. The second principle was that the use of less serious measures must be weighed against the degree of anticipated danger, according to the information in the possession of the interrogator. The third was that the physical and psychological means of pressure permitted for use by an interrogator must be defined and limited in advance, by issuing binding directives. The Landau Commission also recommended external supervision of ISA activities.

After the Landau Commission issued its recommendations, the state comptroller's office launched an examination of the ISA investigation unit. Upon the completion of its inquiry, the findings were submitted to a special subcommittee of the Knesset State Comptroller Committee. This finally paved the way to the passage by the Knesset on 16 November 2002 of the **Israeli Security Agency (ISA) Law** regulating its activities.

LAPIDOT, YEHUDA (1928–). Lapidot was born in Palestine as a Jew. In 1943 he joined the Irgun underground militia and took part in covert actions against the British mandatory forces, including an attack on the

railroad in the south of Palestine on 2 April 1948. In the 1948–1949 War of Independence, Lapidot was stationed in Jerusalem and fought in battles as an infantry commander. He commanded Irgun troops in the Kedem operation, an unsuccessful attempt to breach the Old City walls; for this, he was awarded a medal of valor. After the war, he studied biochemistry at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and obtained his doctorate in 1960. In 1973 he was appointed a professor at Hebrew University. Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, a friend of Lapidot since the Irgun days, appointed Lapidot director of **Nativ** in 1980. He served in this position until 1985. Since his retirement, he has been engaged in research on Jewish underground militias during the British Mandate period.

LAVI. *See* MISGERET.

LAVON, PINHAS (1904–1976). Born in East Galicia, Lavon immigrated to Palestine in 1929. He served in the Knesset periodically from 1948 to 1961. In 1949 Lavon assumed the position of general secretary of the Histadrut (the Israeli labor federation). His appointment as defense minister in 1953 ended in disgrace, when he was forced to resign as the result of the **Bad Business** in 1955. The ensuing scandal came to be known as the Lavon Affair. Despite his resignation from the government, he was continually reelected as Histadrut general secretary until his removal in 1961 as a result of renewed repercussions from the Lavon Affair.

LAVON AFFAIR. *See* BAD BUSINESS; LAVON, PINHAS.

LEVAKOV, HAIM (1916–1998). Born in Merhavia, Israel, Levakov was a member of the Haganah underground militia prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and a member of the Palmah's **Arab Platoon**. In 1941 he was dispatched on a mission of intelligence gathering and sabotage in Syria. After the establishment of the state, Levakov joined **Military Intelligence** (MI) of the Israel Defense Forces. In 1956 he initiated the idea of a covert action to kill Egyptian army officers in the Gaza Strip responsible for sending **terrorists** into Israel on a series of deadly raids. In the 1960s, Levakov took part in fostering the Israeli relations with the Kurdish minority under the **Periphery Doctrine**. *See also* HAFEZ, MUSTAFA ASSASSINATION.

LEVANON, NEHEMIAH (1915–2003). Born in Latvia, Levanon immigrated to Palestine in 1938. He served as the second director of **Nativ**, replacing **Shaul Avigur** in 1970. In the 1950s Levanon had been a diplomat at the Israeli embassy in Moscow, and under this cover he worked for Nativ as well. He was expelled from the Soviet Union with two other Israelis for engaging in intelligence work. After assuming the directorship of Nativ, Levanon operated according to his belief in quiet intelligence activity. Levanon resigned from Nativ in 1980 and was replaced by **Yehuda Lapidot**.

LEVINE, AMIRAM (1944–). In 1999 Major General Levine retired from the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) after a 33-year career (1965–1998), mostly with elite units and culminating as the head of Northern Command. In the IDF, Levine was decorated for personal bravery in combat. In addition to various field commands, his career included general staff assignments as well as weapon system development duties; he headed the strategic weapons development task force, consisting of military designers.

Upon retirement from the IDF, Levine was appointed deputy director of the **Mossad**. This was after the **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco** in 1997 and the **Failed Bern Action** in 1998 during the directorship of **Danny Yatom**. Levine was assigned to oversee the Mossad's operations, thereby strengthening that aspect of the organization's activities. Its director at the time was **Efraim Halevy**, who was considered more a man of quiet diplomacy than clandestine actions. The intention was for Levine to train for two years as deputy director, after which he would take over the Mossad directorship. This would combine the long years of Halevy's experience in the Mossad with Levine's 33-year military experience. However, the plan did not materialize, and Levine ended his career in the Mossad in 2000, together with Halevy.

In academia, Levine holds a bachelor's degree in social sciences from the University of Haifa. He also graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Sloan School of Business Administration and from the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

LEVINSON, SHIMON (1932–). A former colonel in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Levinson was promoted through the military ranks

mostly in reserve service, but he periodically rejoined the regular army. As both a reserve and a regular officer, he was a member of the Israel-Jordan mixed armistice commission until the 1967 **Six-Day War**. Thereafter this committee ceased to operate. From 1968 Levinson was stationed for three years in East Africa as a member of Tevel wing of the **Mossad**, seconded from the IDF. Upon returning to Israel and to the IDF, he was appointed liaison officer to the United Nations mission in the Middle East. In 1978 Levinson was asked by the chief of the General Staff, Rafael Eitan, to finally end his military career, and he complied.

In civilian life, Levinson was unemployed for long periods. Occasionally he found a job in the Israeli aviation industry and for a short period he worked for the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). In 1980 he got a job managing a UN antidrug agency in the Far East, with an office in Bangkok, but he soon left this position. He apparently suffered depression. In spring 1983, at his own initiative, he approached the Soviet embassy in Bangkok, offering his services to spy against Israel. On 12 May 1983 he arrived in Moscow and his Israeli passport was stamped by the visitors section. At that time, Israelis rarely visited the Soviet Union because the two countries did not have diplomatic relations. This fact alone placed him under suspicion of espionage. By the time of his return to Israel, he had been recruited as a spy by the KGB. Through his contacts with many former senior IDF officers, he landed a job as chief security officer in the Israeli Prime Minister's Office. In this post, he had contacts with Israel's top secret intelligence organization, **Nativ**, which focused on the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries.

Levinson felt that he was not paid enough for his services to the KGB, and in 1989 he unilaterally disconnected the contact with his Soviet handlers. Yet for some reason he made another visit to Moscow, where he was rebuked by his former KGB handlers for severing relations. Soon he resigned from his post in the Prime Minister's Office and returned to Bangkok to enter private business. He thought that his job as a spy was behind him.

The ISA, which had secretly investigated Levinson, decided to draw him to Israel for arrest and trial, without arousing his suspicion. At the initiative of the ISA, an Israeli government company contacted Levinson in Bangkok with an offer of an attractive business contract;

his "contacts in Thailand were an advantage" for getting this business, and he was asked to go to Israel to conclude the deal. All went according to plan. On 2 September 1993 Levinson was convicted of spying for the Soviet Union and was sentenced to 12 years in prison.

LEVY, VICTOR MOISE (1932–?). An Alexandria-born Jew, at age 11 Levy joined the Jewish Zionist movement Ha'Shomer Ha'Tsair. In 1951 he was recruited to the Alexandria cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131**. Levy participated in planting an explosive device in the Rio Cinema in Cairo. Following the covert action known as the **Bad Business**, Levy was found guilty by an Egyptian court and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After 14 years in jail, in a prisoner exchange following the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Levy, together with the rest of network's prisoners, was released and allowed to travel to Europe. Thereafter they made their way to Israel.

LIAISON BUREAU/LISHKAT HA'KESHER. *See* NATIV.

LIFT OPERATION. King Hussein of Jordan began meeting Israeli leaders in person from 1963 even though the two countries were formally in a state of war. Even after Israel occupied the West Bank in 1967, business with King Hussein proceeded as usual. The Israeli leaders were intent on hammering out a peace treaty with Jordan, but the two sides reached only a de facto peace. The **Mossad**, because of its contacts with the Central Intelligence Agency, was charged with the task, especially during the premiership of Yitzhak Rabin from 1974, of arranging the details of this de facto peace. This project had the codename Lift Operation.

LILLEHAMMER AFFAIR (1973). On 21 July 1973 **Mossad** agents in Lillehammer, Norway, killed a Moroccan waiter, Ahmed Bouchiki, after misidentifying him as **Ali Hassan Salameh**. Salameh was the leader of the Black September Organization, the Palestinian group that had carried out the **Munich massacre** at the 1972 Olympics. A Mossad agent shot Bouchiki as he walked back from a cinema to his apartment with his pregnant wife. Two members of the assassination team were arrested the next day as they reused a getaway car to go to

the airport. After their interrogation, the whole cell was arrested and incriminating documents and the keys to a network of safe houses were discovered.

The head of Caesarea Division in the Mossad, **Michael (Mike) Harari**, had led the operation. Harari managed to escape and was never turned in to the Norwegian authorities by Israel. The rest of the team members were captured by the Norwegian authorities. On 1 February 1973 Dan Arbel, **Avraham Gehmer**, and **Sylvia Raphael** were convicted of second-degree murder and sentenced to five years in prison. **Marianne Gladnikoff** was sentenced to two and a half years in prison, Zvi Steinberg was sentenced to one year, and **Michael Dorf**, who was responsible for communications between the members of the hit team, was freed. However, they were all released soon thereafter and returned to Israel.

The Israeli government attempted at the time to deny its responsibility for the murder. In 1996 Israel agreed to provide the family of Bouchiki with compensation. *See also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

LIPKIN-SHAHAK, AMNON (1944–). Lipkin-Shahak was born in Tel Aviv and as a teenager went to a military cadet boarding school. In 1962 he was drafted for national service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). In a long military career, he moved steadily through the ranks, all the way from squad commander to the chief of the General Staff. He also graduated from the IDF Command and Staff College, the National Security College, and a Marine Command and Staff College course in the United States and completed a degree in general history at Tel Aviv University.

In the 1967 **Six-Day War** and the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Lipkin-Shahak served as a paratroop battalion commander and deputy brigade commander, respectively. During his military service, he was decorated twice for bravery for his conduct: in the Inferno Operation, Karameh, Jordan, in 1968 as a captain; and in the 1973 **Spring of Youth Operation** as a lieutenant colonel. During the 1982 Peace for Galilee Operation, Lipkin-Shahak commanded the Beirut and Shouf sectors in Lebanon. He was appointed head of the IDF Central Command in 1983 and promoted to major general. In 1986 he became the director of **Military Intelligence**, holding this position until 1991 when he was made deputy chief of the General Staff. In 1995 he be-

came chief of the General Staff, with the rank of lieutenant general. Lipkin-Shahak retired from the IDF in 1998 and entered politics. He was elected a member of the Knesset (1999–2003) and also served as minister of tourism (1999–2000).

LISHANSKY, YOSEF (1890–1917). Born in Russia, Lishansky immigrated to Israel as a six-year-old child with his family, who settled in Metullah in the Galilee. For two years he worked with Ha'Shomer, the "Watchman" organization, guarding Jewish colonies in the Sharon Plain. Upon being refused full membership in the group, he established a second organization called Ha'Magen ("The Shield") to protect settlements in the south. In 1915, he joined the **NILI** espionage group and went on to become one of its key figures. In October 1917, after the Turkish police discovered the NILI group, Lishansky escaped and hoped to find refuge with Ha'Shomer. Disapproving of his political outlook, however, Ha'Shomer decided to kill him and turn his body over to the Turkish authorities. Lishansky escaped once more, only to be found by Bedouins near Rishon Le-Zion. They handed him over to the Turkish governor of Jerusalem, who had him transferred to Damascus. There he was hanged by the Turks in the main square after being found guilty of membership in NILI.

LISHKAT HA'KESHER. *See* NATIV.

LITERATURE AND PUBLICATIONS (LAP)/LOHAMA PSYCHOLOGIT. *See* MOSSAD.

LOTZ, WOLFGANG (1921–1993). Lotz was born in Germany to a Jewish actress and a Christian theater director. Neither parent felt any closeness to their respective religion, so his mother did not even have her son circumcised, which later proved advantageous in Lotz's subsequent career as a spy. Lotz's parents divorced in 1931, and with Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, the boy and his mother immigrated to Palestine. She resumed her acting career in Tel Aviv. Wolfgang, who Hebraized his name to Ze'ev ("Wolf") Gur-Aryeh, went to the Ben-Shemen agricultural school. He joined the Haganah underground militia in the period before the establishment of the State of Israel when he was not yet 15 years old. His duties included guarding the

armored buses that were the only means of transport to Ben-Shemen village, which was set amid Arab villages and towns that were growing increasingly more hostile. Through his agricultural studies, he became an expert horse trainer, which later helped him to create his social status as a "German" in Egypt. Besides German, Lotz was fluent in English, Hebrew, and Arabic.

With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Lotz volunteered for the British Army. Because of his military training in the Haganah and his linguistic skills, the British considered him a great asset. He was sent to Egypt, where he served throughout the war. His main occupation was interrogation of German prisoners of war. Soon after his return to Palestine, he became involved in arms smuggling for the Haganah. After the State of Israel was declared in May 1948, Lotz served as a lieutenant in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), taking part in some of the fiercest fighting of the War of Independence in the Latrun area. During the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, as a major, he commanded an infantry brigade.

Sometime after the Sinai Campaign, **Military Intelligence** (MI) approached Lotz with a suggestion that he work for them. Lotz, then 35 years old, tall with fair hair and blue eyes, was in no way Israeli-looking. He was also courageous and willing to risk his life. Because he was not circumcised, it was easier for him to work under the cover of a non-Jewish German. Lotz was aware of the intensive and exhausting nature of the training for such service, but accepted the challenge eagerly. In Israel he underwent several months' intensive training in the tradecraft of espionage. He took courses in Egyptian history, politics, and culture. By the beginning of 1957, it was decided in MI to dispatch Lotz to Egypt, with two main goals. First, Israel needed information on the Soviet arms being supplied to Gamal Abdel Nasser's government. Second, Israel needed a secret agent in Egypt to keep track of the growing influence of German consultants invited there by Nasser. Many of them were former Nazis—scientists, engineers, doctors, police experts—who went to occupy key roles in running the country. Although Lotz was recruited by MI, the **Mossad** was likewise interested in obtaining Lotz's services. The Mossad was especially concerned with obtaining as much information as possible about German scientists advancing Egypt's surface-to-surface missile capabilities. Lotz was eventually to provide it.

In November 1959 Lotz was sent to West Germany, where he spent a year generating his cover story as a former Wehrmacht officer. He arrived in Egypt in December 1960 or January 1961 and at once started to form connections with the German community and with the high Egyptian echelons. He visited riding clubs and soon learned which of them was frequented by Egyptian army officers. He met General Youssef Ali Gahourab, chief of the Egyptian police, introducing himself as a horse breeder. The two soon developed a genuine rapport and friendship. Word quickly spread among the Egyptian elite of the rich German. Within days, Lotz was deluged with invitations to dinner parties, cocktail parties, or swimming parties. Wealthy horse fanciers sought his advice. Gahourab arranged to go riding with him daily. Nor did Lotz skimp on his own show of generosity. He entertained often and lavishly, carefully noting the titles and military ranks of the acquaintances he made. He bought horses of his own and stabled them at the Cavalry Club.

Six months later, in mid-1961, Lotz returned to Europe to report to his MI handlers, who were greatly satisfied with his progress. Lotz made ready to travel back to Egypt with a large sum of money and a radio transmitter to keep in secret contact with his case officers in Israel. But before his return he did something extremely unusual for a spy in his position. Lotz, who had a wife in Israel, remained married even though the marriage was not going well. Yet this did not prevent him from engaging in a complicated love affair. On the train from France to Germany in June 1962, he met a very pretty, blond, blue-eyed girl named Waltraud Martha Neumann. She was a refugee from East Germany living in America, visiting her parents in Germany. Two weeks later, the couple married. Without consulting his Israeli handlers, Lotz took his bride to Cairo. Frau Lotz soon discovered what her husband was doing, or he told her on his own initiative that he was spying for Israel. According to unconfirmed reports, Waltraud may actually have been simply part of his cover story; the West German Intelligence Service (BND) had assigned her to work with Lotz as part of their clandestine cooperation with Israel. Whatever the truth, their love was real, and when he told her he was spying for Israel, she agreed to help him enthusiastically. His second marriage became known to Israeli intelligence.

In 1963 responsibility in Israel for running agents, Lotz included, was transferred from MI to the Mossad. His new bosses in the Mossad were at a loss about what to do with this marriage. Moreover, his new case officers were dissatisfied with his behavior. Lotz was now drinking too much and had become egregious in his expenditures; at that time, a regime of thrift was ascendant in the organization. But Israel needed and wanted Lotz in Cairo. He had proven himself an invaluable agent. So despite his second marriage and his habits, **Isser Harel** approved the continuation of Lotz's operation.

Lotz returned to Egypt in the summer of 1962, with Waltraud following a few weeks later. General Gahourab was there to meet him at the airport and drove him personally into Cairo, where a lavish party was thrown in his honor. The festivities did not prevent Lotz from making his first transmission to Tel Aviv. He disposed of a virtually limitless spending account, which he used to buy presents for friends in high places, throw parties, and buy horses and stables for the riding school he planned to open. Lotz and his wife enjoyed themselves immensely. During the day, they rode with friends, and their active social life led to ever widening contacts with members of the elite. They established good relations with Brigadier General Fouad Osman and Colonel Mussa Said, key figures in Egyptian military intelligence. Osman was head of security for rocket bases and military factories and was accordingly responsible for the defense of precisely those installations that Lotz wanted to find out about. One of Nasser's closest advisers, Hussein El-Shafei, often told Lotz of important state decisions even before most government officials knew about them.

Lotz also became very close to many Germans and former Nazis living in Cairo, and with one couple the friendship was genuine. Another friend was Gerhard Bauch, who claimed to be a former Nazi officer but was suspected of leading a more surreptitious life. On one occasion General Osman told Lotz that Bauch was forever lurking about and listening to every word that was said. He added that officially Bauch was in Egypt as an industrialist, but was actually spying for West Germany. Egypt allowed him to operate freely because President Nasser wanted good relations with West Germany. Osman said that the information Bauch acquired in Egypt was passed on to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Osman even advised Lotz to be careful in his relations with Bauch because, as a fellow German, Bauch might try to exploit

Lotz's position in Egypt; Lotz seemed to Osman somewhat naive about the dirty business of espionage. Lotz, inwardly savoring the irony of these words spoken to the foremost Israeli spy operating in Egypt at the time, thanked his friend and promised to be more careful.

Lotz indeed kept up his pretense, and even got a reputation as a rabid anti-Semite—which only made him more acceptable to former Nazis and high Egyptian officials alike. Lotz's friendships with key military figures proved invaluable. He was able to visit even closely guarded top-secret bases near the Suez Canal. He and Waltraud were allowed access to airports where the Egyptians deployed their newly arrived MiGs, and they took photographs of the aircraft at close range with their pilots standing proudly by. Arms depots, air hangars, communication centers—all were open to him. At one point, Israel wanted to learn more about the Russian surface-to-air missile (SAM) base being built near the Suez Canal city of Ismailia. It was entirely off-limits to people like Lotz. But he went there anyway, and when stopped he protested that he had no idea where he was, adding that if there were any problems, the military base commander could call generals Gahourab and Osman. The commander did so, and they indeed settled the matter for Lotz.

The Egyptians boasted to Lotz about the clever way they mixed real fighter planes in with dummies on the airfields in order to confuse the Israel Air Force. Lotz dutifully complimented them on their ingenuity, and reported it all to Tel Aviv.

Lotz obtained a list of every single German scientist living in Cairo. He recorded their Cairo addresses and the locations of their families in Germany and Austria. Through high-placed sources, he gained precise details of the exact role each man played in the Egyptian armaments factories. From Lotz, the Israelis were pleased to learn that the Egyptians were having great difficulty finding a reliable guidance system for their missiles.

The Israeli spy maintained his horse breeding and horse racing charade, so much so that his planned riding establishment was actually established. Large numbers of his high-ranking friends went to observe and admire Lotz's creation; they drank champagne and divulged military and state secrets.

Lotz contributed to the **Damocles Operation**, the Mossad campaign of threatening German scientists working in Egypt, mainly by writing threatening letters in an attempt to induce them to leave Egypt.

Matters went well for Lotz for several years. Then, in the fall of 1964, certain changes took place in Egyptian foreign policy. The Egyptians had been dependent on Soviet military and economic aid since the mid-1950s. The Soviets used this leverage to pressure Nasser into inviting East German leader Walter Ulbricht to visit Cairo. Despite protests by the West German government, Nasser acceded to Soviet wishes and invited the East German leader in the winter of 1965. Furthermore, the Soviets had been complaining that the director of the BND, General Reinhard Gehlen, was working with the CIA against the Soviets. Nasser resolved to cooperate with the Soviets and to show the West Germans that he could not be pressured, all in one fell swoop. He ordered the arrest of some 30 West Germans living in Cairo; among them were Lotz and his wife Waltraud, as well as her parents who happened to be in Egypt on a visit.

The Egyptians told the West German ambassador that the arrests were purely a matter of form, and that they would all be released after the East German leader had left. However, Lotz had no way of knowing this and assumed that the Egyptians had discovered his spying activities. His first consideration, as the Mossad's agent, was fear for Waltraud and her parents. Lotz decided to cooperate almost fully with the Egyptians, who had suspected nothing.

When they began to interrogate Lotz as a matter of routine, he volunteered to his interrogators all they wanted to know. He told them they would find his transmitter in the bathroom. More precisely, it was hidden among the bars of soap, in which they would also discover explosives and microfilm. The Egyptians uncovered more than $75,000 in various caches. Nevertheless, Lotz tried to convince his interrogators that he was spying for West Germany. He even convinced them that he had been a soldier in the German Afrika Korps in World War II, where he learned the equestrian art. After the war, he said, he had gone to Australia and stayed there for 11 years before returning to Germany. He claimed that at a riding club he had received an offer to breed horses and open his own riding establishment in Egypt. Only at an advanced stage of the interrogation did Lotz admit that he was working for the Israelis and that they had led him into a trap. He explained that he had always dreamed of a horse farm and race track, and the price was to transmit information to Israel. During his interrogation, Lotz added a story that the Israelis were ruthless

and arrogant like all Jews and he thought it was safest to follow their suggestions. The Egyptians seemed to accept his story of a not-very-clever ex-German soldier. They checked to see if he was circumcised to make sure he was not a Jew and found that he was not circumcised. The Egyptians went further and asked him for all of his contacts—who had trained him, where he had been trained, and so on. After several days of questioning, he succeeded in convincing Egyptian Intelligence that Waltraud's parents were uninvolved, but they did not believe that Waltraud herself was innocent.

Lotz pretended to cooperate fully by volunteering all kinds of information, but his information was only partially true. He succeeded in keeping secret his true identity. The Egyptians believed he was a German spying for Israel; they never discovered that he was really an Israeli. He even made a televised broadcast to the German people urging anyone who considered spying on behalf of Israel not to do so and expressed remorse for his own actions. The Egyptians were delighted with the propaganda—but the Israelis were even happier. Lotz's cover was obviously still not blown.

He and Waltraud were tried in an Egyptian court. The Mossad secretly arranged for Lotz to have a German defense lawyer and an observer from Germany was even present. At his trial, Lotz continued to use his expert mix of truth and deception to convince the Egyptians that he was really a German. They believed him. There was a scare when a letter arrived from Germany, sent by a German lawyer representing victims of the Israeli threatening-letter campaign. The lawyer accurately reported that Lotz's mother was Jewish, that he had immigrated to Israel in the early 1930s, and that he had even served in the Israeli army. But Lotz swore the information was false, and the court still believed him. On 21 August 1965 he was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor. Waltraud was sentenced to three years imprisonment. General Gahourab was reduced to the ranks and given a prison sentence for allowing Lotz too much access to strategic information on Egypt.

In prison, Lotz managed to win exemption from hard labor. He was allowed to see Waltraud from time to time. Other prisoners cleaned his cell, and Lotz even ordered meals from a Cairo restaurant. In February 1968 Lotz and Waltraud, together with the prisoners of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt involved in the **Bad Business**, were

released. Lotz returned to Israel and started various business ventures without great success.

Wolfgang Lotz was to be remembered for the priceless information he obtained and delivered to Israeli intelligence prior to the **Six-Day War**, and for succeeding in keeping secret his identity as an Israeli spy. Lotz has gone down in intelligence history as "Tel Aviv's Eye in Cairo," akin to **Eli Cohen**, recalled as "Our Man in Damascus."

LOUK, MORDECHAI. A Spanish-Moroccan-born Jew, Louk immigrated to Israel in 1949. In 1961 while performing national service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), he was with his unit on maneuvers near the Egyptian border at the Gaza Strip. Being in debt to many people, he slipped across the border, surrendered to an Egyptian officer, and asked for political asylum. The Egyptian police arrested him, suspecting that he was an Israeli spy. In the Egyptian prison, he suffered from depression and twice attempted suicide. While he was in the hospital, Egyptian intelligence concluded that he might be of use to them and proposed to him that he spy for them against Israel. Louk accepted the offer.

For six months, he underwent a series of training courses in espionage. By summer 1962, Egyptian intelligence deemed him ready for espionage activity. He was assigned to work in West Europe, mainly France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland. His chief task was to make contacts with Israelis working in or visiting these countries and gather from them economic and political information about Israel. He was also asked to trace Israeli secret agents in those countries, with their names and addresses as well as information on their families. He was given a camera to photograph any Israelis he might meet. His initial monthly salary was $150 plus authorized travel expenses. He received an Egyptian passport under the assumed name of Mouhamad Hamdi Habal.

Louk was sent first to Damascus to conceal any traces of his originating from Egypt. In Damascus he was given another passport in the assumed name of Joseph Dahan, a common name for a Moroccan Jew. He was allowed to use either passport on his travels according to circumstances.

Egyptian intelligence had no notion that the **Mossad** had been keeping an eye on Louk from the moment he defected from his IDF

unit. The Mossad was in a position to capture him and have him tried in Israel if it so desired. But it decided that Louk, traveling freely in Europe, rather than languishing in jail, would be of great value in tracing the methods of Egyptian intelligence. Indeed, everything Louk did in Europe, every move he made, was known to the Mossad, whose operatives followed him constantly. In 1962–1963 he worked mainly in West Germany and Switzerland. In January 1964 Egyptian intelligence moved him to Naples.

Toward the end of 1964, Louk began to feel that the Egyptians were not paying him enough for his services and started making trouble for his employers. In November that year in Naples, he met his Egyptian case officer, who went by the name of Salim Ossman El-Sayad, and told him that if his salary were not increased he would quit. El-Sayad invited him to the Egyptian embassy in Rome to settle the issue, in what he said would be a quiet and friendly atmosphere, with an Egyptian official authorized to approve pay rises. Louk was shrewd enough not accept the invitation to the Egyptian embassy, knowing that more people went in than came out. He proposed holding the meeting at a public place in Rome. El-Sayad agreed, determining the venue as the Café de Paris. El-Sayad, who suspected that Louk was working for the Mossad, probably never intended to hold the meeting. In fact, there and then on El-Sayad's signal his men bundled Louk into their car and drugged him with morphine; later they placed him in a trunk.

On the afternoon of 17 November 1964 Egyptian intelligence personnel tried to get the trunk, with Louk inside, aboard a United Arab Airlines airplane at Rome's Fiumicino Airport. On one side of the truck was a label inscribed "United Arab Republic (UAR) Embassy" with the warning "Diplomatic bag—do not open." An alert Italian porter heard moans coming from the trunk as it was being loaded onto the plane and had it unloaded. Louk's life was saved. He was held by the Rome police before being extradited to Israel. There he was tried and sentenced to 11 years in prison.

In the aftermath of the episode, three Egyptian diplomats in Rome were deported to Egypt as personae non gratae. The Israeli version of the affair was that, after capturing Louk, Egyptian intelligence intended to force him to undergo plastic surgery and then, under a new assumed Israeli identity, to send him to Israel to open a travel agency

under the cover of which he would continue to spy for them. The Israeli press published the story under the headline "The Man in the Trunk."

LOW PROBABILITY. This was the famous judgment of **Military Intelligence** (MI) on the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** regarding the likelihood of war, when the director of MI, Major General **Eliyahu Zeira**, was asked by the Israeli government about the likelihood of an Egyptian attack. His "low probability" assessment was based on the renowned prevailing **Concept** holding that Egypt would not go to war until it had attained the required military capability—meaning the acquisition of Scud missile strategic weapons and Sukhoi bombers. He was supported in this assessment by Lieutenant Colonel **Yosef Bendman**, head of MI's **Branch 6**.

Because the outbreak of war on 6 October came as a strategic surprise, the term "low probability" came to be taken to mean the opposite. Statistically, of course, any event might happen even under a "low probability" forecast. Yet, pronouncements by the Israeli leadership in the two months before the 2003 Gulf War indicate in a sense that the impending threat had perhaps been belabored. Public statements began to be heard that an attack with nonconventional weapons was of "low probability." The chief of the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces went so far as to comment that his sleep was not disturbed over the Iraqi threat. These speakers seem to have disregarded the change, since the Yom Kippur War, in the general interpretation of the phrase "low probability." Its mention in discussions between intelligence professionals, political leaders, and the Israeli public was to denote a substantial possibility that the event would indeed occur and indicate that appropriate countermeasures must be taken.

LUBRANI, URI. Lubrani's political career began in the 1960s as adviser on Arab affairs to Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion and then as head of the private bureau and political adviser to Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. He served as Israeli ambassador to Ethiopia and to Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi (1968–1973) and as head of the Israeli mission in Tehran (1973–1979). In the latter position, from early 1978 he made written assessments filled with foreboding about the

shah's chances of survival. He consistently maintained that the fall of the shah was just a matter of time. His assessments proved correct.

In the early 1980s Lubrani favored continuing Israeli arms sales to Iran because he felt that Khomeinism would disappear in due course and Israel and the United States would restore their influence in Iran. His recommendation developed into the well-known **Irangate Affair**. In 1990 Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** appointed Lubrani head of an Israeli task force that planned and executed the **Solomon Operation**, which airlifted the greater part of the Jewish community of Ethiopia from Addis Abba to Israel. He was also made coordinator of Israeli government activities in Lebanon. In this position he predicted in 1998 that the unilateral withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon would be disastrous, which in the event proved to be wrong. Lubrani was also chief Israeli negotiator for the release of Israeli hostages and prisoners of war in Lebanon. *See also* KALMANOVITCH, SHABTAI.

LUNZ, AVRAHAM (RAMI). *See* NAVAL INTELLIGENCE SQUADRON.

– M –

MACKENZIE, BRUCE (?–1978). A British businessman and farmer who settled in Kenya in 1960, MacKenzie was the only white cabinet minister in Kenya after its independence. In 1976 he was a security and intelligence consultant to President Jomo Kenyatta. As a British expatriate, he had contacts with the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), as well as the Israeli **Mossad**, which through its station in Kenya maintained excellent relations with the Kenyan security services. In January 1976 MacKenzie's men caught two young Germans, Thomas Reuter and Brigitte Schultz, who were wanted by Israel on suspicion of attempting to use a SAM-7 missile to shoot down an El Al airplane taking off from the Nairobi airport. The two were transferred secretly to Israel to stand trial (*see also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION).

In late June 1976, when Israel was planning the **Yehonathan Operation**, its rescue of Israeli and Jewish passengers of an Air France plane hijacked to Entebbe, Uganda, the Mossad turned to MacKenzie to seek Kenyan permission to use Nairobi as the forward base for officers of

Israeli intelligence and the Israel Defense Forces. President Kenyatta acceded to MacKenzie's request. Israeli personnel went to Kenya under the cover of businessmen, and thence moved to Entebbe, crossing the border traversing Lake Victoria. There the Israel officers reconnoitered the situation at Entebbe airport. MacKenzie was later killed by a bomb planted in his airplane, probably by Ugandan secret agents taking revenge for his role in assisting the Israelis in the Entebbe episode.

MAGEN, DAVID. *See* GROSS AFFAIR.

MAGEN, ZVI. Magen replaced **Ya'acov Kedmi** as director of **Nativ** in 1999. Under his directorship, Nativ has become a much less clandestine organization. In the Israeli high echelons, there have been demands to disband it, since clandestine work for the Jewish population in the former Soviet Union is no longer necessary, but Magen opposes the idea. Some believe that Nativ should perform today as an Israeli cultural council.

MAGIC CARPET OPERATION. The intricate secret airlifting of Yemeni Jews to Israel. Toward the end of April 1949, the imam of Yemen agreed to let most of the Jews in his country leave, some 45,000 out of 46,000 Yemeni Jews. From remote corners of the country, they made their way on foot to an airport where they unobtrusively boarded Israeli transport aircraft. There were 380 flights. British and American airplanes were also engaged in the airlift. Most of these impoverished and isolated Jews had never seen an airplane, and on landing in Israel they described their flying mode of transport as the "magic carpet." Thus Magic Carpet Operation became the name of this highly complex and dangerous rescue-immigration campaign.

Stanley Epstein, a Canadian Jew who was a pilot in the Magic Carpet Operation, stated that he flew his C-46 airplane 270–300 hours a month. It carried 76 passengers per trip, nearly 30 more than the number permitted based on average passenger weight and the number of aircraft exits. The DC-4s also used for this operation were licensed to carry 60 passengers, but instead took 150 Yemeni Jews aboard on each flight.

The Magic Carpet Operation ran from May 1949 to the end of September 1950. Operatives of the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth** were dis-

patched to Yemen to organize the operation. It was kept secret and revealed to the media only several months after its completion.

MAGNA CARTA 2. To halt the internal clashes within the Israeli intelligence community, in early 2000 the **Mossad** initiated an agreement known to its shadowy denizens as "Magna Carta 2." This was an agreement on the division of labor among the Mossad, **Military Intelligence** (MI), and the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) aimed at introducing order into their work. It was concluded by the directors of these three organizations: **Efraim Halevy**, **Amos Malka**, and **Ami Ayalon**, respectively. The document determined who was responsible for what, specifying in detail the responsibilities of each organization down the various ranks.

Magna Carta 2 acknowledges that MI is the senior intelligence organization for collections and assessments. In terms of geographical range, MI is responsible for collecting information from the neighboring countries, the so-called target countries. MI fulfills its responsibilities by technical means of collection or by operating agents across the frontiers of target countries. For example, **Unit 504** operates agents abroad, but only in areas close to the borders of hostile states. The Mossad operates agents in countries farther afield, including Arab states. If necessary, its agents might penetrate Arab countries through third countries, known as "base countries." The ISA handles domestic intelligence, although MI conducts political and military assessment in the Palestinian Authority (PA); by one interpretation, the PA is deemed a neighboring country, not an autonomy within Israel. By contrast, the ISA, as a preventive rather than an intelligence organization, is wholly responsible for forestalling any **terrorism** from the PA area. MI is therefore only an auxiliary element in the sphere, providing the ISA with the necessary intelligence.

According to the Magna Carta 2, the ISA's main tasks are preemption of Palestinian terrorism; counterintelligence; prevention of any underground activity, whether political or terrorist, by all Israeli sectors, including Arabs and Jews; and the security of important personalities and institutions. Since the 1967 **Six-Day War**, MI has not provided the ISA with any intelligence support within the Green Line (i.e., the pre-1967 border), because the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) are forbidden to operate in the Israeli civilian sector. In the former Lebanon security

zone, on the other hand, the ISA was responsible for providing MI with the preventive intelligence it gathered; since the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, this function of the ISA is finished.

In 1988, due to the Palestinian uprising (the First Intifada), assessing the overall Palestinian issue fell to the ISA, which set up a research division for this purpose. By the terms of Magna Carta 2, the ISA no longer collects intelligence unconnected with preventing terrorism. Whenever general information is gathered concerning the PA area that is not directly related to the prevention of terrorism, it is immediately conveyed to MI. In addition, the ISA analyzes the information for the sake of good order. This is in keeping with the call by the 1974 **Agranat Commission** for more corroboration of intelligence assessments.

Malka, who retired as director of MI on 31 December 2001, evinced greater readiness than any of his predecessors to transfer several types of intelligence collection, mainly through human intelligence (HUMINT), to the other Israeli intelligence organizations or to other IDF units. His goal was to allocate more resources to the MI's Research Division. Malka stated explicitly that he was ready to entirely transfer Unit 504 to the ISA or the Mossad, both of which are more experienced with such types of intelligence. By 2005 the transfer had partly materialized. Tactical intelligence for frontline IDF units has been transferred to the Land Arms Command. The External Relations Wing, which was responsible for liaison with foreign military attachés in Israel, was moved to the Operations Directorate.

What actually happened is that following the outbreak of the second Palestinian uprising (the Al-Aqsa Intifada) in 2000, the ISA grew substantially stronger. Its assessments on the PA are no less important than those of MI, perhaps more important. In any event, there is a sense that a new document is needed, a "Magna Carta 3," that would include the sphere of responsibility of the **Center for Political Research** of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

MAHANAIMI, GIDEON (1928–1986). The Israeli-born Mahanaimi joined the Palmah militia in 1945. After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, he served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) as an intelligence officer in various positions. Mahanaimi established the first school of agents in **Unit 131** of **Military Intelligence** (MI)

and became the school commander (1953–1954). In 1955 he was appointed intelligence officer of Paratroop Brigade 202 under Ariel Sharon's command. In this position Mahanaimi's reputation as a combat intelligence officer became legendary. He was able to prepare at short notice a file of aerial photographs and reports on every Arab village and every military and police post in the West Bank (then under Jordanian rule) and the Gaza Strip. He collected the information from reconnaissance patrols or from interrogating prisoners of war.

Mahanaimi saw action in the 1956 **Sinai Campaign** with the unit in the battle for the Mitla Pass. After the campaign he was sent on an IDF mission to Ethiopia (1957–1960). In 1962 Mahanaimi was appointed intelligence officer of the IDF Central Command and served in this position until 1968. Then he was tasked to set up Training Base 15, the **intelligence school** of the IDF; he was appointed as the school's first commander. From 1971 until 1974 he served as liaison officer to the UN forces on Israel's borders, with the rank of colonel. He took part in the military disengagement talks with Egypt after the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**.

In February 1974 at a conference of the General Command, Mahanaimi while still in uniform publicly demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Golda Meir; that speech apparently ended any further hopes of promotion. Although officially still a serving IDF officer, he was transferred to a civilian job in 1976 as deputy to Rehavam Ze'evi, the adviser on **terrorism** to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. In 1985 Rabin, then defense minister, awarded Mahanaimi the rank of brigadier general despite the past. He died just prior to his retirement from the IDF in 1986.

MAHLEKET MODI'IN. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE; NAVAL INTELLIGENCE SQUADRON.

MAKHELA. *See* MISGERET.

MALKA, AMOS (1953–). Born in Haifa, Israel, Malka was director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI) from 1998 until 2002. He began his military service in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the armored corps. During his military career, he rose in rank and position to command various combat units, culminating as commander of armored brigades.

He graduated from the IDF Staff and Command College (1980), also studied at the IDF National Security College (1986–1987), and earned a bachelor's degree in history from Tel Aviv University (1987). Before his appointment as director of MI, his last field position, as a major general, was as head of the IDF Ground Forces Command. Malka served as director of MI from 1998 until 2002.

Malka's career as director of MI coincided with the outbreak of the second Palestinian uprising (the Al-Aqsa Intifada) and the 11 September 2001 terror attacks in the United States. These events required MI to assess the Palestinian terrorist trends, U.S. moves in the Middle East, and their impact on Israel. In 1998, German President Roman Herzog awarded Malka the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit "in recognition for his outstanding services to the Federal Republic of Germany." In 2001 Malka was awarded the U.S. Legion of Merit by President George W. Bush "for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service."

After retiring from the IDF in 2002 Malka resumed his studies, working for master's degrees in political science at the University of Haifa and in business administration at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He also joined the Elul Group as president and CEO in 2002.

MALKA, RAFI. Malka served as head of **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) operations division, head of administration division, and head of protection in Europe. He resigned from the ISA after the **Bus 300 Affair** in 1984. In 1995, as a former ISA officer, Malka was a member of the **Internal ISA Committee on the Rabin Assassination**.

MALKIN, PETER ZVI (1927–2005). Although born in Palestine, Malkin spent his childhood in Zolkiewka, Poland. He returned to Palestine in 1936, but more than 150 of his relatives, including his sister and her family, were murdered in the Holocaust. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he joined the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). Later he moved to the **Mossad** and was the organization's chief of operations during the 1960s. Many covert actions in which he played a key role may never be told. **Eichmann's Capture** was his best known success; in it, he became a legend as the agent who physically detained the former Nazi officer. After Malkin resigned from the Mossad, he wrote a book entitled *Eichmann in My Hands.*

In his job in the Mossad, Malkin traveled widely, frequently visiting the United States. In the 1970s he assisted New York's law enforcement departments in several cases. One was the investigation of Frank Terpil, a Central Intelligence Agency agent who was convicted of selling weapons and explosives to Uganda and Libya. Terpil fled the United States and remains a fugitive.

Malkin succeeded **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan** as the head of the Metsada branch of the Mossad in the early 1970s. He resigned from the organization in 1976, after which he devoted his time to the artistic pursuits that served as his cover during his years in intelligence. In his 28-year career in the Israeli intelligence community, Malkin contended with the most dangerous of Israel's enemies. He brought about the arrest of 17 Soviet spies in Israel run by the former Soviet Union's KGB. He also won successes against the Palestinian **terrorist** organizations.

MALMAB. *See* DIRECTOR OF SECURITY FOR THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT.

MANBAR, NAHUM (1948–). An Israeli-born former combat officer in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Manbar became a businessman, but accumulated massive debts and wrote bad checks in Israel, and from 1985 he lived in Switzerland. From around 1990 he began selling military materiel to Iran, initially defense devices. At some point he started selling raw materials to Iran for the production of nerve and mustard gases. But more or less from the start of his transactions, he came under the watchful eye of Israeli and foreign security and intelligence services. Allegedly during one surveillance mission in Vienna in 1993, two **Mossad** agents were killed in a motorcycle accident. In May 1997 Manbar traveled to Israel for a visit. On arrival, he was arrested by the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and the Israeli police. According to the subsequent indictment, in addition to the raw materials, he sold know-how on the production of biological and chemical weapons and gave advice on how to set up factories in Iran. Some 150 tons of raw materials had been transported to Iran from Europe. The directors of the three Israeli intelligence organizations were personally involved in the hidden investigation of Manbar's deeds. On 15 July 1998 Manbar was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment by the Tel Aviv District Court.

MAN IN THE TRUNK, THE. *See* LOUK, MORDECHAI.

MANOR, AMOS (1918–). Born Arthur Mendelovich in Hungary, Manor immigrated to Israel in 1949. He was introduced to the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) by **Ehud Avriel**, who knew him from the **Briha** (Escape) period. He was then a new immigrant and spoke Hebrew with a heavy Hungarian accent, but he had a brilliant mind endlessly filled with new ideas. He was also cosmopolitan and spontaneous by nature. Although he had a different character from **Isser Harel**, the director of the ISA, Harel found it convenient to work with him. Manor quickly rose through the ISA ranks, being appointed head of its Soviet Bloc section. In 1953 he succeeded **Izi Doroth** as director of the ISA. In this position Manor enjoyed regular access to Prime Minister **Moshe Sharett**. Under Manor's directorship the ISA scored notable successes in detecting agents attempting to spy against Israel. Manor bitterly opposed the Tiger Operation, the search for **Yossele Schumacher**, unconvinced that this operation was a genuine national mission. Manor resigned from the ISA in 1963.

MARTINI, FULVIO. Martini was promoted to midshipman in the Italian Navy on 16 December 1944. During World War II he saw action on the vessels *Duilio*, *Driade*, and *Monzambano*, participating in the campaign for the liberation of Italy and earning two Crosses of Merit. In his subsequent career, he was given command of numerous surface ships and held important offices in the General Staff of the Italian Navy. He interspersed intelligence work with seagoing commands. From 1958 to 1962, and again from 1969 to 1978, he performed numerous tasks at different levels for the Italian Naval Intelligence Service. He also served as captain of the *Vittorio Veneto* (1972–1973) and later commander of the 2nd Naval Division (1978–1979). On 14 April 1982, Martini was made chief of the office of the Italian secretary general of defense and deputy director of armaments. He was promoted to admiral in December 1982.

Martini was a close friend of operatives of the **Mossad**. When traveling to Arab countries, he customarily carried a concealed camera to photograph military installations for Israel. He became director of the Servizio per le Informazioni e la Sicurezza Militare (SISMI), the Italian military secret service, from May 1984 to February 1991. Martini

had good relations with the directors of the Mossad, in particular with **Nahum Admoni**. However, following the kidnapping of **Mordechai Vanunu** on Italian soil, relations between the two men cooled.

MARZOUK, MOSHE (1926–1955). Also known as Musa Marzuk. Marzouk was born in Cairo to a Karaite family who immigrated from Tunisia in the early 20th century, though they remained French citizens. While working for the Jewish Hospital in Cairo as a doctor in the early of the 1950s, Marzouk was recruited by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to the Cairo cell of the Jewish espionage network. Marzouk secretly journeyed to Israel after his recruitment and underwent a short series of military training courses to qualify him for his clandestine work in Egypt. In 1954 the group carried out a series of sabotage bombings that came to be known as the **Bad Business** or the Lavon Affair. The members of the network were caught, interrogated, tortured, and tried. Marzouk was sentenced to death and was hanged on 31 January 1955.

MEDIA-INTELLIGENCE RELATIONS. Relations between Israel's intelligence community and the media rest on the assumption that journalists in Israel possess a sense of responsibility and understanding and are law-abiding; at the same time, they uphold the democratic prerequisite regarding the public's right to know. Presumably, journalists possess vastly more classified information than the intelligence functionaries imagine. Yet, because of their civic responsibility, journalists display self-discipline and censor security-sensitive information themselves.

Relations between **Military Intelligence** (MI) and the media are characterized by the fact that the director of MI, the head of its Research Division, and intelligence officers in the various commands of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) give periodic briefings to journalists. At times, MI uses the help of the IDF spokesperson, especially when journalists pose questions and ask for clarifications. This occurs especially in times of fighting, as in the Defensive Shield Operation in 2002. Many years of such cooperation has led to sound relations between MI and the media.

Relations between the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and the media began to develop only recently, mainly since the outbreak of the

second (Al-Aqsa) Intifada in 2000. The ISA has come to realize over the years that it can accrue great benefit by maintaining an unbroken connection with the media. Whenever the ISA wishes to publish something, it briefs the journalists, using aids such as photographs of wanted people or sketches of the organization of **terrorist** units. In recent years, a press communications officer has operated from the bureau of the ISA chief. He is the contact for journalists and answers their questions. Thus a relationship of trust has grown up between the media, especially the military correspondents, and the ISA. The pattern of relations that developed did not cause a breach in the compartmental walls; what may not be published is not published.

The **Mossad**, by contrast, insists on avoiding institutionalization of a connection with the media. For many years, the Mossad would only hold briefings that it initiated, and only for senior commentators. At first this was done through the Editors' Committee; after this body ceased to exist at the end of the 1990s, the briefing became personal, but it was characterized by only a sprinkling of information. Because of widely publicized events, mainly operational failures such as the **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco** (1997) or the **Failed Bern Action** (1998), which whetted journalists' appetites, the "leaks" phenomenon came into being. The number of leaks is equal to the number of interests driving the leaks, and the result is that matters get out of control. In cases of operational blunders, as in the above-mentioned affair in Switzerland in 1998, the Mossad has sought journalists' advice on how to prevent publication, even though information on the debacle has already been published worldwide.

MEGA. In January 1997 the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA) intercepted a phone conversation between Yoram Hassel, head of the **Mossad** mission at the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C., and **Danny Yatom**, director of the Mossad. Hassel sought Yatom's permission "to go to Mega" to obtain a copy of a confidential letter sent by U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher to the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser Arafat, concerning U.S. assurances about a recently negotiated agreement on an Israeli military withdrawal from the Hebron area in the West Bank. Earlier "Elga" had become the Mossad's codeword for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA); it was incorrectly decoded by the NSA as "Mega."

This story was published in the *Washington Post* on 7 May 1997. The NSA also intercepted Yatom's rejection of the request, while admonishing his agent. Briefly in early 1997 the CIA, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the NSA were engaged in a mole hunt for an "Israeli spy" believed to be operating inside the highest levels of the Clinton administration's national security establishment. Some years later Yatom, who had served as military secretary to former defense minister and prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, emphasized that Rabin unequivocally prohibited the Israeli intelligence community from collecting intelligence information by any illegal means. When the Mega story was revealed in 1997 in the U.S. media, Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) George Tenet asked Yatom for clarifications in a phone call and in writing. These clarifications did not satisfy Tenet, and Yatom flew to the United States to meet him. During their conversation, it became clear that the allegation was false. Later the DCI wrote Yatom a letter of apology.

The lesson of the Mega Affair was that the NSA was far more adept at deciphering than previously assessed. The agency had succeeded in decoding the Mossad's most sensitive phone conversations. The Israeli intelligence community had to improve substantially its coding capability.

MEHDAL. Hebrew for "flaw" or "fault." It became the most popular Hebrew term among the Israeli public to describe the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. It meant the overall lack of preparation for that war—empty emergency stores and the like. Above all, however, it referred to the wrong assessment of **Military Intelligence** regarding the Arab military intentions, and the resulting surprise. *See also* CONCEPT, THE.

MENKES, YOSEPH. *See* KASTNER, ISRAEL.

MERHAV, REUVEN (1936–). Merhav joined the **Mossad** in 1961. Among his key roles in the organization was representing Israel in Tehran and in African countries. After retiring from the Mossad in 1983, Merhav served as director of Israel's quasi embassy in Beirut. Other posts held by Merhav were director-general of the Foreign Ministry (1988–1991) and director-general of the Immigrant Absorption Ministry. Merhav was a member of the Israeli delegation at the

Camp David Summit from 5 September to 17 September 1978. After retiring from governmental duties, Merhav became a research fellow at the Jerusalem Institute of Israel Studies.

METSADA. *See* MOSSAD.

MEYEROFF, SHAUL. *See* AVIGUR, SHAUL.

MEYUHAS, MEIR SHMUEL (1925–?). An Egyptian Jew born in Alexandria, Meyuhas was the director of a metal trading company. In 1951 he was recruited by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to the Alexandria cell of the Jewish espionage network. He was arrested together with the other members of the espionage network following the **Bad Business**. He was found guilty and was sentenced to seven years in prison. On completing his term, Meyuhas was released in 1962 and was allowed to leave Egypt.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (MI)/AGAF MODI'IN (AMAN). After the **Information Service** was disbanded on 30 June 1948, three Israeli intelligence organizations were formed: MI, the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), and the Political Department in the Foreign Ministry. MI was established as a department in the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and was known by its Hebrew name, Mahleket Modi'in. In December 1953 it was renamed the Directorate of Military Intelligence, known in Hebrew as Agaf Modi'in (Aman).

MI collects information on the Arab armies and is responsible for state-level intelligence evaluation for war and peace, for providing a warning of war and of hostile and **terrorist** acts, and for indicating the rise of opportunities for political agreements. When it was established, MI was also engaged in counterespionage; however, this function has since been transferred to the ISA. Its first commander—the director of Military Intelligence (DMI)—was **Isser Be'eri**. MI is structured as two main units: the Collection Department and the Research Division.

The Collection Department is responsible for signals intelligence (SIGINT), through its **Unit 8200**, and for imagery intelligence (IMINT), especially through its Unit 9200. Unit 8200 collects intel-

ligence information by plugging into the telephone systems of Arab countries to eavesdrop and record land-line conversations. The Collection Department also operates human intelligence (HUMINT), running agents and informers just over Israel's borders through its **Unit 504**. The Collection Department is responsible for collecting information from open sources (OSINT) through a section known in Hebrew as Homer Tsevai Bariah (Hatsav) that scans the print and electronic media, including the Internet, for unwittingly exposed military matter.

MI serves as the professional authority for the Israel Air Force's **Air Intelligence Squadron**, which through Unit 9200 activates unmanned small aircraft; the Israeli Navy's **Naval Intelligence Squadron**; and the intelligence units at the headquarters of the various field corps and in the regional commands.

The intelligence corps, headed by the chief intelligence officer with the rank of brigadier general, is subordinate to the DMI with the rank of major general. Intelligence Corps headquarters oversees the collection units and is in charge of the corps' professionalism and administrative organization.

The Research Division is the largest part of the MI, with 3,000–7,000 officers and other ranks. This division receives and analyzes information assembled by the entire Israeli intelligence community—MI itself, the **Mossad**, and the ISA. It publishes the *Daily Information Digest* and other periodical assessments, of which the best known is the *Annual National Intelligence Evaluation*. The Research Division is organized into subunits, divided according to geographical and functional targets. Prior to the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, each subunit was called *anaf* (branch). **Branch 2** was responsible for Jordan and the Arabian Peninsula; Branch 3 for the world powers; **Branch 5** for Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq; **Branch 6** for Egypt, Sudan, and North Africa; and **Branch 7** for technological developments. Branch Air 4 was the intelligence squadron of the Israel Air Force. Today, the Research Division is divided into "theaters" (*zirot* [pl.] in Hebrew). **North Theater** (Zira Tsefonit, or Zitsap) is responsible for Lebanon and Syria, **Central Theater** (Zira Merkazit, or Zimar) for Iran, Iraq, northern Jordan, and Saudi Arabia; and **South Theater** (Zira Dromit, or Zidar) for Egypt and southern Jordan. In addition, there are the **Terror Theater** (Zirat Terror, or Zitar), **World Theater**

(Zirat Kol Ha'Olam, or Zika), and **Technological Theater** (Zira Technologit, or Zit); the last-named is in charge of technological developments especially in weapons.

Following the recommendation of the 1974 **Agranat Commission**, MI created the Control Unit (Ipkha Mistabra). This unit produces the "**devil's advocate**" assessments. It consists of few but experienced officers who are subordinate directly to the DMI and not to the Research Division so that these officers will not be affected by any influence of the head of the Research Division.

MI is also responsible for assigning military attachés to Israeli embassies overseas. A special task is press censorship and information security (previously known as field security) to prevent leaking of secret matters. There is a unit for liaison with foreign intelligence communities and another engaged in computer hardware and software to assist in intelligence collection.

Following the disbanding in April 1951 of the Foreign Ministry's Political Department, its intelligence missions in Arab countries were transferred to a new unit in MI known as **Unit 131**. In 1963 Unit 131 was dismantled and responsibility for dispatching spies, collecting intelligence, and sabotage in Arab countries was moved to the Mossad. Its sister **Unit 132** was charged with conducting propaganda in Arab countries. *See also* appendixes A, B, and C.

MISGERET. Two forms of Misgeret ("Framework") existed. The first was established in 1955 by the **Mossad** as a special force in North Africa to protect Jewish populations, mainly in Algeria but also in Tunisia. In Algeria the commanders of the Misgeret's approximately 100 young members underwent training in France or Israel. Like most of Algerian Jewry, its members possessed French citizenship. They were also reservists in the French Army stationed in Algeria and thus had weapons training. Misgeret hid weapons caches; only its Algerian unit commanders could have access to the Israeli emissaries in charge. From May 1956 to the end of 1961, this Misgeret, codenamed Lavi, kept Algerian Jews safe from terror perpetrated by Muslims. The latter suspected some form of Israeli-inspired local Jewish "commando activity," without knowing about Misgeret specifically.

The second Misgeret was created by the Mossad secretly in Morocco following the ban imposed in September 1956 on emigration of Jews to Israel. It was a means of smuggling Jews out of Morocco,

sometimes with false papers or no travel documents. Misgeret also bribed officials for authentic passports and resorted to Muslim and Spanish smugglers. In 1960 the Misgeret headquarters in Paris became dissatisfied with these flimsy measures; instead, a negotiated solution with the Moroccan royal court itself was mooted, even opting to bribe its members. In July 1960 the head of Misgeret in Casablanca, Ephraim Ronel, known by his code name Eppy, calculated that the court needed money outside Morocco should the monarchy be ousted. Ronel recommended that a Jewish public figure close to Crown Prince Hassan II be the go-between of Israel and the court. Several such approaches by eminent Jews well connected with the Palace to relax regulations on Jews' immigrating to Israel met with no success. Then Israel informed Prince Moulay Ali, the son of King Muhammad V's brother, of funds available to him in return for letting the Jews go: the initial sum offered was $10–15 per emigrant. A deal was finally struck in 1961. With King Hassan now on the throne, secret talks were held in Europe between a Palace representative and the Misgeret commander in Morocco, Alex Gattmon.

In the background to these negotiations were secret Israeli-Moroccan contacts in existence since the end of 1959, on matters unconnected with Moroccan Jewry. At that time the Mossad advised Moroccan internal security of a plot between members the Union Nationale des Forces Populaires (UNFP) and junior Moroccan Army officers to assassinate Prince Hassan; as a result, in December that year the Moroccan authorities arrested several UNFP members on charges of conspiracy. In the aftermath of the affair, senior Moroccan intelligence officers wished to promote certain links with the Mossad. In 1960 the Mossad was allowed to form an embryonic nucleus, separate from Misgeret, known by its code name Makhela, whose existence was not reported to Israeli or Moroccan officials and possibly not even to the Moroccan royal court. The apparatus was headed by **Ya'acov Caroz**. In this setting, the Misgeret negotiations now succeeded. After Israeli assurances of "indemnities" to Morocco, Jewish emigration from Morocco resumed as the **Yakhin Operation**. Tens of thousands of Jews immigrated to Israel.

MISTA'ARAVIM. The Hebrew term for a secret unit of Israeli soldiers disguised as Arabs. Members of the Mista'aravim unit dress in traditional Arab clothing in an effort to blend in with and subsequently

eliminate Intifada activists, using disguise and surprise as their chief weapons. Originally there were two such units—Shimson in the Gaza Strip and Duvdevan in the West Bank—which were established at the time of the first Intifada in the late 1980s in order to neutralize the Palestinian uprising. Shimson was later disbanded and its members became part of the newly created Egoz Unit, along with others from another highly elite trained unit, Shayetet 13 (Naval Commando).

In addition to providing intelligence to the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), the Mista'aravim soldiers are assigned to carrying out counterterrorist and hostage rescue missions in the Occupied Territories. They can move around more effectively than IDF soldiers in regular uniform and operate without attracting attention. The unit's members are trained to act and think like Arabs by taking an extensive course on how to blend in with the Arab population in terms of customs, dress, language, and makeup techniques to change appearances.

The normal training regimen for standard infantry troops is reduced to two or three weeks for Mista'aravim soldiers. They also receive a different kind of training, spending more time on unarmed combat than the norm. This is due to the nature of their operations, whereby gunfire can cause more injury to innocent civilians than to enemy operatives in highly crowded areas. They are armed with small weapons, such as micro-Uzis, which are easily concealed and carried. Short-barreled M-16s and sniper rifles are carried when firepower is more crucial than the ability to conceal the weapon. Because the Mista'aravim members operate mainly in small groups in crowded cities, they are proficient at close-quarter combat and have been trained to hit targets while running through obstacles. Due to the ever-changing pattern of streets and buildings in their area of operations, they also focus on real-time drone and satellite photo navigation.

Although the modern Mista'aravim units originated at the start of the Intifada, the history of such units predates the establishment of the State of Israel. In May 1943 the Palmah, the Israeli underground defense network, set up the **Arab Platoon**, also known by its code name Shahar. Founded by Yitzhad Sadeh, it was a small and initially amateurish unit, which nevertheless spearheaded the Yishuv's (the pre-state Jewish settlement in Palestine) military intelligence gathering until the summer of 1948. In the mid-1940s the Arab Platoon operated

in units of two or three team members, disguised as Arabs. From late 1947 they made countless sorties into the villages and the main population centers of Arab Palestine: Jaffa, Haifa, Nablus, and Hebron, and still farther afield to Transjordan, Syria, and Lebanon, to collect political and military information. The Arab Platoon and the Palmah underground militia were disbanded after the establishment of the State of Israel.

MIVTZA KADESH. *See* SINAI CAMPAIGN.

MIZRAHI, BARUCH. An Egyptian-born Israeli who served in the **Mossad**. Before the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Mizrahi was sent by the Mossad to Aleppo, Syria, on an espionage mission under the cover of a teacher, but was summoned back to Israel without delay when **Eli Cohen**, the Israeli spy in Syria, was arrested. Under the cover of a Moroccan businessman, Mizrahi was then sent to North Yemen in the early 1970s in order to monitor Palestinian activities, as well as the activities of the Egyptian army still involved in the civil war there, and to report on shipping movements across the Red Sea. Mizrahi was captured in May 1972 by Yemeni authorities while taking photographs in Hodeida, and he was turned over to Egyptian intelligence. After the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, he was released in an exchange of prisoners-of-war and spies between Israel and Egypt. One account alleges that the Egyptians agreed to release Mizrahi in exchange for Israel's release of two Israeli Arabs who had spied for Egyptian intelligence. According to other sources, Mizrahi was released in exchange for 26 Palestinians from the Territories who had been convicted by Israeli courts of sabotage and were serving prison sentences ranging from 10 years to life.

MOSES OPERATION/MIVTSA MOSHE. In 1974 the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie I was overthrown by a Marxist regime. This put an end to Israel's relations with Ethiopia, which had been developed during the 1960s under the aegis of the **Mossad** within the Israeli **Periphery Doctrine**. One result was that Ethiopian Jews suffered in the postrevolution chaos of the Marxist regime.

In 1977, at the initiative of Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin, Ethiopian Jews began arriving in Israel, continuing for the next several

years. As economic and political conditions in Ethiopia deteriorated, tens of thousands of Jews set out to cross the border into neighboring Sudan. In 1979 Israel, and to a smaller degree private organizations, began to evacuate the Ethiopian Jews from Sudan by various covert means and bring them to Israel. As word reached the Jewish villages in Ethiopia that the route to Israel was through Sudan, the flow of Jewish refugees across the border increased dramatically. The Mossad, through its Tsafririm unit, was tasked with handling the rescue of the Ethiopian Jews. Initially it arranged periodic flights from a secret airstrip in the desert near the refugee camps. But during the winter of 1984 it became clear that the refugee camps in Sudan were filling up very quickly and that the mode of rescue had to be completely changed; otherwise, the risk of the refugees dying in large numbers in the squalid camps or being caught by the Sudanese—as a result exposing the entire operation—was too high. The Mossad sought an alternative fast evacuation.

Israeli officials decided to approach the United States for its assistance. This request created a major dilemma for the United States because, unlike Israel, which was technically at war with Sudan, the United States enjoyed very close relations with President Gaafar al-Numeiri. Sudan's geostrategic position along the Red Sea, the stability of the Horn of Africa, and freedom of navigation through the Bab el-Mandeb straits could not be ignored by the United States. For this reason the United States provided Sudan with large amounts of aid, and consequently exercised a great deal of leverage over Numeiri. In 1984 Numeiri was in urgent need of further U.S. aid because of Sudan's failing economy, civil unrest, and the need to take care of the nearly half a million refugees living there. The majority of the refugees were non-Jews. The problem was that as a member of the Arab League, Numeiri could not afford to be seen helping the Zionists. U.S. officials were well aware of Sudan's instability and were hesitant to do anything that might further endanger Numeiri's regime.

A Sudanese representative traveled to the United States in June 1984 to ask for additional economic aid. In a meeting with Richard Krieger and Eugene Banks of the State Department, Krieger decided to play on his visitor's anti-Semitic feelings; he suggested that the approval of the omnipotent Jewish lobby would be necessary to obtain congressional support for an increase in aid. He suggested that Sudan

could help by allowing the United States to take the Ethiopian Jews out of the refugee camps. The Sudanese official found this line of argument appealing and moves were made to arrange a rescue operation. Later that year Krieger visited Israel to update the Israeli government that an understanding had been reached. The refugee affairs coordinator at the U.S. embassy in Khartoum, Jerry Weaver, met with Sudanese vice president and security chief Omar Tayeb and secured his agreement to a plan for evacuating the Ethiopian Jews.

According to the plan, the Mossad and the Sudanese secret police devised the secret operation, known later as the Moses Operation. It lasted from 21 November 1984 to 5 January 1985. Every night during that period, except Fridays, the Sabbath eve, buses picked up groups of about 55 Ethiopian Jews from the refugee camps and took them to Khartoum where they boarded Boeing 707s of Trans European Airlines owned by George Mittelman, a Belgian orthodox Jew. The Mossad had persuaded him to undertake this mission. Eventually 36 flights carrying approximately 220 passengers flew first to Brussels and then on to Tel Aviv. Altogether 7,800 Ethiopian Jews were rescued by this method. However, as news of the airlift leaked out, with subsequent confirmation by the Israeli government, the Sudanese ordered a halt to the operation. Sudan as an Arab country could not allow its image in the Arab world to be one of assisting in enlarging the Jewish population in Israel.

U.S. officials considered the resumption of the Moses Operation. On 3 March 1985 Vice President George Bush met with Numeiri. The latter was reluctant to resume the operation. Instead, he agreed to a quick, one-shot secret U.S., not Israeli, operation, in which the flights would not go directly to Israel. The result was that the United States released to Sudan, within a week, $15 million out of a promised $200 million, the remainder was remitted later. Then Bush discussed with Weaver and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency in Khartoum how to execute the rescue mission of the remaining Ethiopian Jews in Sudan. To avoid any possibility of disclosure, President Ronald Reagan wanted the operation to be carried out within three or four days. Weaver took an embassy plane to check out the runway of a remote airstrip near Gedaref, midway between the camps where most of the Ethiopian Jews were living, and found that it was fit for landings and takeoffs.

On 28 March 1985 the U.S. operation, code-named Sheba, began. Israeli Ethiopian Jews working for the Mossad identified the Ethiopian Jews in the camps and took them by truck to the airstrip, which was eight miles (13 kilometers) outside Gedaref, just far enough to make it difficult to spot the planes from the town. Six U.S. Hercules airplanes loaded with food and medical supplies departed to Sudan from a U.S. air base near Frankfurt, West Germany, and landed at 20-minute intervals to pick up the remaining Ethiopian Jews. However, instead of flying to an intermediate destination, the airplanes flew directly to an Israeli Air Force base near Eilat. The original plan of Operation Sheba was to rescue as many as 2,000 Ethiopian Jews from the camps, but they found there only 494. Three Hercules aircraft returned empty.

After Operation Sheba ended, the Israeli government believed that all of the Ethiopian Jews had been evacuated from the refugee camps in Sudan. In fact, many were left, many of them old and sick. Soon after Operation Sheba, Numeiri was overthrown and found asylum in Cairo. The former Sudanese vice president Tayeb and other officials were imprisoned or executed for allowing the Ethiopian Jews to leave Sudan for Israel. In sum, out the approximately 76,000 people of the Ethiopian Jewish community, 16,975 were taken to Israel during the 1980s. From 1983 to 1985 alone, 12,606 were taken to Israel. *See also* SOLOMON OPERATION.

MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. Established in 1983 at Tel Aviv University, the Moshe Dayan Center concentrates its research on the Arab world, including North Africa, Turkey, and Iran. It grew out of the Reuven Shiloah Institute, which was formed in 1959 under the aegis of the Israel Oriental Society and was incorporated into Tel Aviv University in 1965. The Moshe Dayan Center focuses on the modern history, politics, and current affairs of the Islamic world. As an academic institution, however, the center does not adopt or promote particular positions or policies. Its approach to furthering peace is through enhancing understanding among academics, policy makers, journalists, and the public at large about the complexities of the Middle East. *See also* BEGIN-SADAT (BSA) CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES; INTERNATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM; JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES.

MOSHEL, AHARON. A German-born Jew, Moshel was a journalist working for the French edition of *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, edited by **David (Dave) Kimche**. In 1961 Kimche offered him a higher salary than that paid by the newspaper, and Moshel was recruited to the **Mossad**. After a short briefing in Amsterdam by **Michael (Mike) Harari** and basic training in the tradecraft of intelligence, Moshel was dispatched to Cairo in 1962 as a correspondent for German newspapers. He disguised his intelligence reports as letters to his "aunt" in Cologne. His Mossad case officer in France was **Yitzhak Shamir**, using the codename Samuel Singer. In Cairo he lived close to the central telegraph office, which helped make his radio transmitter undetectable.

It is very difficult to evaluate the importance of the information that he delivered to the Mossad. However, he succeeded in stealing from a hotel employee an identity card of the Egyptian secret police, which he delivered to the Mossad. This enabled the Mossad to produce its own forged cards. Moshel and his colleague, **Wolfgang Lotz**, were monitoring the German scientists working in Egypt on the surface-to-surface missile program. Moshel used to meet the scientists at parties held by the West German embassy's press attaché and discuss with them various aspects of their missile program. Moshel left Egypt soon after Lotz's arrest in 1965. He then quit espionage, and the Mossad assisted him in starting a new life in Luxembourg. In his book *In einer Hand den Ölzweig: Jassir Arafat und die PLO*, Moshel writes that the Mossad ordered him to warn Kim Philby, the British master spy who escaped to Moscow in 1963, that the British were only days away from arresting him.

MOSSAD. Officially the Israel Secret Intelligence Service (Mossad Le'Modi'in Ule'Tafkidim Meyuhadim), the Mossad was established in Israel on 13 December 1949 as the Institution for Coordination, at the recommendation of **Reuven Shiloah**, adviser to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. Shiloah wanted a central body to coordinate and improve cooperation among the existing security services: **Military Intelligence** (MI), the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), and the Political Department, which was the intelligence unit of the Foreign Ministry. Shiloah proposed establishing the Mossad as a central institution for organizing and coordinating the intelligence and security services. The Mossad began life under the wing of the Foreign Ministry. For all

practical purposes, it *was* the Political Department, although in fact not all of the Political Department was transferred to the Mossad. However, it soon underwent a reorganization process.

On 8 February 1951 Ben-Gurion, after consulting with Foreign Minister **Moshe Sharett** and Mossad director Shiloah, decided to reorganize the Mossad. The Political Department was to be dismantled and its intelligence collecting and operational activities in foreign countries were to be assigned to the Mossad. In March 1951 it was made a part of the Prime Minister's Office, reporting directly to the prime minister. The immediate result was that senior operations officers of the Political Department collectively submitted their resignations in what became known as the **Spies' Revolt**. The revolt did not last long, and the day it broke, 1 April 1951, is considered the Mossad's official birth date.

That day, the operations branch of the Political Department was replaced in the Mossad by the Foreign Intelligence Authority (Rashut Le'Modi'in Be'Hul), also known by its code names Rashut (Authority) or Rashut Green (Green Authority). The authority was headed by Haim Ya'ari. Operational activities and operating spies in Arab countries were assigned to MI.

Over the years, the Mossad was given several more tasks previously fulfilled by Israel's other intelligence agencies, such as handling Israeli spies abroad. This mission was assigned to the Mossad in 1963; until then it had been accomplished by **Unit 131** of MI. In 1963 the Mossad was given the Hebrew name Mossad Le'Modi'in Ule'Tafkidim Meyuhadim (Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations).

The Mossad is a civilian organization. Its employees do not have military ranks, although most of them have served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and many even served in MI. Its current staff is estimated at 1,200 to 2,000 employees. The Mossad is organized into several main units, with headquarters in Tel Aviv:

- *Tsomet* is the largest branch, with responsibility for collecting intelligence information, mainly by its case officers who activate spies and operatives in target countries.
- *Nevioth* (formerly known as *Queshet*) collects intelligence for the Mossad via break-ins, street surveillance, listening devices, and other covert methods.

- The special operations division, known as *Metsada* (formerly known as *Caesarea*), conducts sabotage and paramilitary projects.
- A top classified subdepartment known as *Kidon* (Bayonet) conducts assassinations, as approved by **Committee X**, which is chaired by the prime minister.
- The *Intelligence Branch* is responsible for LAP, the putative abbreviation for Literature and Publications, though it is actually the Hebrew acronym for *Lohama Psikhologit*, meaning psychological warfare, for which it is indeed responsible, along with propaganda and deception operations. The Intelligence Branch is also responsible for collecting information on prisoners of war and those missing in action, nonconventional weapons, and hostile sabotage activities.
- The political action and liaison department, known as *Tevel*, conducts political activities and liaison work with friendly foreign intelligence services and with nations with which Israel does not have normal diplomatic relations.
- *Tsafririm* is a unique department distinguished by its concern for the security of the Jewish people around the globe. This department, among other things, directed the **Moses Operation** (Mivtsa Moshe) and **Solomon Operation** (Mivtsa Shlomo) with the goal of bringing Ethiopian Jews to Israel. In the 1950s and 1960s, Tsafririm was engaged in setting up defense groups in Jewish communities outside of Israel, mainly in the Maghreb, known by the name **Misgeret** (Framework).

All of the above units are under the aegis of the deputy director of the Mossad for activating the force. The administrator for construction of the force is responsible for the following units: Training Branch; Personnel and Finances; Technology and Spy Gadgets; Research; and the Chief Security Officer.

The Mossad is one of the leading intelligence agencies in the world in the field of high-tech electronics. It has developed a powerful computer database, known as PROMIS, which can store and retrieve enormous quantities of information. This technology is even sold by the Mossad to intelligence communities of foreign countries.

Since its establishment, the Mossad's best-known successful operations have been the obtaining of **Khrushchev's Speech** in 1956; **Eichmann's Capture** in 1960; the **Wrath of God Operation** after

the 1972 **Munich massacre**; the kidnapping of **Mordechai Vanunu** in 1986; providing the intelligence background for the Osirak nuclear reactor bombing by Israel in 1981 (**Opera Operation**); assisting in the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel; and furnishing intelligence for IDF operations thousands of miles away from Israel, such as the **Yehonathan Operation** in 1976 and the assassination of **Abu Jihad** in Tunisia in 1988.

The Mossad's best-known mishaps have been the **Lillehammer Affair**, the killing in 1973 of Ahmed Bouchiki, an innocent Moroccan waiter mistakenly identified as the leader of the Black September **terrorist** organization, Ali Hassan Salameh; the **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco**, the failed assassination of Sheikh Khaled Mash'al, a leader of the Palestinian militant group Hamas, by poison injection in 1997 on Jordanian soil when Mossad agents used forged Canadian passports, which angered the Canadian government no less than the Jordanians; the use of forged British passports, discovered in 1981 in a grocery bag in a London telephone booth, which sparked a diplomatic row between Britain and Israel over the Mossad's involvement in an attempt to infiltrate China; and an attempt in July 2004 by Uriel Kelman and Eli Cara (formerly head of Nevioth) to fraudulently obtain **New Zealand passports**.

From time to time, the Mossad undergoes a reorganization. **Efraim Halevy**, as director of the Mossad, wanted to pattern it on the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) model, with a few big divisions. He envisioned three such wings: a collection wing, a research wing, and an operations wing. All the departments described above would have been incorporated in one way or another into these three large wings. Halevy actually succeeded in establishing the first two wings. To date, the operations wing has not been created—not even by Halevy's successor, who devotes special attention to operations. Current director **Meir Dagan** created the Forum of Unit Directors, the deputy director of the Mossad for activating the force, and the administrator for construction of the force (*see* appendix E).

The Mossad director, together with the directors of MI and of the **Israeli Security Agency** (and of **Nativ** in its early stages) constitute the **Committee of Directors of the Intelligence Services** (Va'adat Rashei Hasherutim, or VARASH).

Since its establishment, the Mossad has had 10 directors: Reuven Shiloah (1951–1952); **Isser Harel** (1952–1963); **Meir Amit** (1963–

1968); **Zvi Zamir** (1968–1974); **Yitzhak Hofi** (1974–1982); **Nahum Admoni** (1982–1990); **Shabtai Shavit** (1990–1996); **Danny Yatom** (1996–1998); Efraim Halevy (1998–2003); and Meir Dagan, who assumed the office in 2003 and is still serving in it. *See also* MOSSAD LE'ALIYAH BETH and appendix B.

MOSSAD LE'ALIYAH BETH. The term *Aliyah Beth* (literally "B-immigration") refers to the organized illegal entry of Jews into Palestine under the British Mandate in direct defiance of the British government's restrictions on Jewish immigration. Legal immigration was termed *Aliyah Aleph* ("A-immigration"). In the early 1920s, British authorities openly engaged themselves in helping to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. However, they began withdrawing their support for the Jews in response to strong Arab pressure. When Britain imposed strict quotas on Jewish immigration in the early 1930s, Zionist groups responded with a policy to encourage illegal immigrants, or *ma'apilim,* a term referring to their upward struggle.

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, approximately 530,000 immigrants arrived in Palestine, one-quarter of whom reached the shores clandestinely through Aliyah Beth by way of the sea. The first ship of illegal immigrants reached Palestine in 1934. At that time, the Jewish Agency leadership did not approve of illegal methods of immigration. However, by 1939 it had become evident to David Ben-Gurion that Aliyah Beth was the only real way for Jews to enter Palestine. The Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth—the official Aliyah Beth organization—was then created.

During World War II, under the direction of **Shaul Avigur** (1939–1948), Aliyah Beth became one of the main methods used for rescuing Jews. However, the efforts of the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth were obstructed by a variety of problems, including restricted ship use, lack of funds, unsafe conditions, and the continuing British blockade of Palestine. Eventually in 1942 the entire operation of the Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth was suspended until it resumed operations in 1944, upon the rude awakening of the Jews of Palestine to the extent of the "Final Solution."

After the war, Aliyah Beth became the focus of Zionist activity, turning the world's attention to the plight of the Holocaust survivors and their attempts to immigrate to a Jewish state. Tens of thousands

of illegal immigrants reached the shores of Palestine on dozens of ships, such as the *Exodus 1947*. When caught by the British, they were interned in detention camps, about half of which were in Cyprus. There they waited until the State of Israel was established in May 1948. *See also* MOSSAD.

MOSSAD LE'MODI'IN ULE'TAFKIDIM MEYUHADIM. *See* MOSSAD.

MUCHASSI, ZIAD. The replacement for **Hussein Abad al-Chir** as the Palestinian Liberation Organization's liaison with the Soviet KGB in Cyprus after al-Chir was killed on 24 January 1973. As part of the **Wrath of God Operation**, Muchassi was targeted for assassination by the Kidon team of the **Mossad**, which planted an explosive device in his bedroom at the Aristide Hotel in Athens on 12 April 1973. During the team's escape, they observed a KGB officer in the area with a weapon under his jacket, and they killed him as well.

MUNICH MASSACRE. In the early hours of 5 September 1972, **terrorists** of the Black September Organization (BSO) took control of the building that housed the Israeli team at the Munich Olympic Games, located at 31 Connolly Street in the Olympic Village. They captured 11 of the athletes. Two were murdered soon after, and in the evening, after a full day of negotiations, the nine others were taken to a military airfield near Munich. They were about to be hustled aboard an aircraft and flown to an Arab state, apparently Egypt, to be exchanged for Palestinians imprisoned in Israel.

Encouraged by Israel, the German authorities had no intention of letting the terrorists go. German police lay in wait for them at the airfield and opened fire, killing five of the eight terrorists together with all of the Israeli athletes. The remaining three terrorists were arrested and released in October 1972. Also only years later did it become known that the Israeli athletes had all been killed by German sniper fire; that bitter night, everyone was convinced that the Israeli athletes had been shot by the Palestinians. The director of the **Mossad**, **Zvi Zamir**, who managed to reach Germany from Israel just before the shots were fired, was shocked and reported by phone to Israeli prime minister Golda Meir, "They are all dead."

The Israeli response to the Munich massacre involved widespread reprisals against all individuals and organizations thought to have been in any way associated with the murders, as determined by the secret **Committee X**. Palestinian terrorists were targeted for assassination in a series of actions, including the **Wrath of God Operation** and the **Spring of Youth Operation**.

MUSTAFA HAFEZ ASSASSINATION. *See* HAFEZ, MUSTAFA ASSASSINATION.

– N –

NAFSU AFFAIR. Izzat Nafsu was a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) lieutenant and member of the Circassian minority of non-Arab Muslims. In Israel they are a tiny and loyal minority. In 1976, Nafsu was serving in intelligence **Unit 504** in southern Lebanon, an area then occupied by Israel. One of his tasks was to seek out Lebanese Arab collaborators; other duties included providing arms and medical supplies to the Christian and Shi'ite Lebanese who opposed the Palestinians. In this sensitive duty, he was not briefed on exactly who he could establish contact with and who not. On the night of 4 January 1980 a fellow officer in Nafsu's unit knocked at the door of his home, woke him, and asked him to go with him at once on a secret military mission. Nafsu took leave from his wife, promising to return as soon as the mission was over. In fact, he was taken to a room in a hotel in Haifa rented by the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) for interrogation. There he was arrested on suspicion of treason and of spying for the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). At first he was interrogated fairly, but as the interrogation went on, he was transferred to Kishon Prison in Haifa where the ISA had its own cells and the interrogation became very brutal. After 40 days of interrogation, he broke down and gave a full confession. During Nafsu's trial, held on camera, Nafsu's lawyer, Zvi Hadar, maintained that his confession was false and extracted from him illegally, as indeed was the case.

At the end of 1982, Nafsu was convicted and sentenced to 18 years in prison; he was demoted to the rank of private. Nafsu's conviction was based on testimony by a Lebanese named Abu Kassem, who said that

he saw Nafsu going to bed with a PLO member as well as a Lebanese Christian. The implication was that Nafsu was homosexual, and on that account had been blackmailed by the Palestinians to spy for the PLO. His own confession was held against him, too. After more than seven years in prison, Nafsu was acquitted by the Israeli Supreme Court of the charges of treason and espionage. The only charge remaining against him was not reporting to his commanders his meeting with PLO members in Lebanon. He was sentenced for this charge to two years' imprisonment and was released at once for time already served. Nafsu was promoted to sergeant and paid the salary due since the day of his arrest.

NA'IM, YA'ACOV ELI (1932–?). A Jew born in Tripoli, Libya, Na'im and his family fled to Egypt during World War II. In 1951 he was recruited by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to the Cairo cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt. His rented apartment became a meeting place for the Cairo cell members. Na'im was arrested together with the rest of the members of the network after the **Bad Business**. He was tried and acquitted.

NASSER, KAMAL. The official spokesman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Nasser was killed on 9 April 1973 in the **Spring of Youth Operation** for his part in the **Munich massacre**.

NATHANSON, PHILIP HERMANN (1933–2004). An Egyptian-born Jew with an Austrian Jewish father who had settled in Alexandria in 1920, Nathanson was recruited by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to the Alexandria cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt. He participated in the network's mission of planting an explosive device in the Rio Cinema in Cairo. He was arrested together with other members of the espionage network after the **Bad Business**. Nathanson was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment. After 14 years in jail, in a prisoner exchange following the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Nathanson and other network prisoners were released and allowed to go to Europe. Then they made their way to Israel. He recently died from cancer.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (NSC). Benjamin Netanyahu's proposal to establish a National Security Council was passed unanimously by the Israel government, approved by the prime minister, and established by Resolution 4889 on 7 March 1999. The NSC's

function is to serve as a coordinating, integrative, deliberative, and supervisory body on matters of national security and to operate as an arm of the Prime Minister's Office. The chairman of the NSC also serves as the national security adviser to the prime minister and answers directly to the prime minister.

The NSC derives its authority from the government and operates in accordance with the instructions of the prime minister. It centralizes data from all government ministries and offices dealing with national security and makes assessments of expected trends in order to brief Knesset committees on these issues, in accordance with the instructions of the prime minister. The NSC is likewise charged to make recommendations to the government on national security policy; to conduct long-range planning of national security components, with the assistance of existing planning bodies in those government ministries and offices dealing with national security; to monitor and update national security activities; to supervise the implementation of national security decisions; and to maintain cooperative relations with parallel national security officials in selected countries, in coordination with the Foreign Ministry and its missions abroad, and in accordance with acceptable practice.

Despite its stated purpose, it appears that the NSC was created by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in order to politically sting Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechay, who opposed its establishment. It seems that Netanyahu only wanted a body with a flashy American name, nothing more. As soon as the body was created, Netanyahu immediately instructed the NSC to address nonconventional weapons and ballistic missile threats to Israel as its top priority. The first chairman of the NSC, Major General (reserves) David Ivri, was appointed and served in this position until he was appointed as Israel's ambassador to the United States in January 2002. His successor was Major General (reserves) Uzi Dayan, who held the office until August 2002. He was replaced by former **Mossad** director **Efraim Halevy**, who occupied the post until his resignation on 1 September 2003. His successor, Major General (reserves) Giora Eiland, assumed the office in January 2004 and submitted his request to resign to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in August 2005.

Eiland, like all his predecessors, failed to penetrate the wall surrounding the prime minister. However, Eiland and the prime minister maintained correct working relations, despite professional disagreements. Eiland tendered his resignation, but agreed to continue in his

post at the NSC until the appointment of a new chair. One can expect that Eiland's successor as NSC chairman will be no more than a civil servant. After all, with four different heads of the National Security Council in a period of only six years, it would appear that the NSC and its chairman have no real status and that the leadership in Israel has no intention of imparting any substantial content to this body.

NATIV. Formerly called **Bilu**, this intelligence organization was established in March 1951 after the dismantling of the **Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**, which was active in illegal immigration to Palestine during the period of the British Mandate. Its cover name was Liaison Bureau (Lishkat Ha'Kesher), and its first director was **Shaul Avigur**.

Nativ was responsible for the connection with Jews in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and Eastern Europe, and for immigration to Israel from those countries. Over the years, Nativ became an inseparable part of the Israeli intelligence community. It established research and intelligence-gathering units and carried out clandestine operations, such as sending agents under diplomatic cover to Israeli consulates in countries behind the Iron Curtain. Nativ also ran secret operations to establish contact with Jews and to provide them with informational materials about Israel, prayer books, Hebrew dictionaries, and the like. To this end, it recruited Jews who were citizens of countries other than Israel and members of youth movements abroad. As a cover for its operations, Nativ also used vessels of the Israeli merchant fleet that visited Soviet harbors, especially Odessa. Every ship carried a Nativ operative, who was routinely suspected by the Soviet KGB and tailed along with the other crewmen.

In 1961 Nativ expanded its operations and set up a unit called Bar, which received funding from organizations in the United States controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), among others. The unit was charged with spearheading a movement among Jewish organizations and leaders throughout the world to apply pressure on the Soviet Union to allow Jews to immigrate to Israel. The Kremlin considered Nativ a hostile espionage organization inciting the Jewish population to emigrate, and every effort was made to repress it, including placing the Nativ operatives under surveillance by the KGB.

The expansion of its operations enabled Nativ to set up stations at Israeli embassies in Western Europe, Latin America, and the United

States. The benefit to the United States from supporting Nativ was access to intelligence about the Soviet Union and other Communist Bloc countries, which the Israelis obtained from questioning new immigrants in order to detect any Soviet spy that might attempt to enter Israel in the guise of a new immigrant. In fact, Nativ, with its interviewing of new immigrants, was the main instrument of the intelligence community in its efforts to gather information about the Soviet Union and its satellites. The **Mossad** played no part here and did not operate any case officers in Eastern European countries.

Prior to the **Six-Day War** of June 1967, Nativ representatives were stationed in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries as envoys with diplomatic passports and diplomatic immunity. After the severance of relations with those countries in the wake of the war, Nativ continued to send emissaries, assisted by anyone who had access to the Eastern Bloc. The organization was behind the worldwide propaganda and information campaign whose slogan was "Let My People Go." For about 30 years, Nativ secretly organized the emigration of Jews from Romania through an agreement with the regime of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. Ceausescu and other senior officials in his regime received bribes in return for this agreement, which over time amounted to tens of millions of dollars deposited in secret bank accounts in Austria and Switzerland.

Nativ's clandestine operations to bring immigrants from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe largely terminated with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union. After the renewal of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Eastern Bloc countries at the end of the 1980s, and still more with the disintegration of the USSR, Jews were increasingly able to emigrate freely from those countries. Occasionally, the old methods of using connections with authorities through the transfer of funds still had to be employed. In September 1992, Nativ organized an operation to take Jews out of the city of Sukhumi, Georgia, which was under attack by Muslim rebels. That same month, it operated an airlift of Jews from Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, which was also being attacked by members of an extremist Muslim rebel group.

Still, the overall change raised questions about the need for a clandestine organization like Nativ. At its peak, Nativ had about 500 employees operating from its Tel Aviv headquarters and from branch

offices in Israeli embassies in the Former Soviet Union (FSU) countries as well as in Israeli consulates in the West. Clearly, the current situation no longer calls for such a large-scale operation. Yet, a series of Israeli prime ministers and senior officials continue to ponder what to do with Nativ. In the 1990s, three committees were successively formed to consider Nativ's future. In July 2000, Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** gave the former director of the Mossad, **Danny Yatom**, the task of overseeing Nativ. The Mossad felt that Nativ's unit for research and intelligence should be dismantled, and in the end this was done. In the early 2000s, the task of discussing the fate of Nativ was given to yet a fourth committee. The main thrust of its recommendations was that Nativ should be reduced, but not closed. The conclusion seems to be to let the organization die a slow death.

In any event, the Israeli government decided on a substantial reduction of Nativ's annual budget and transferred part of its functions to other governmental bodies. According to one proposition, Nativ should continue merely as a cultural center. In fact, the Israeli government has already given Nativ the mission of organizing Israeli cultural centers in FSU countries as well as educational systems for the Jewish communities there. *See also* appendix B.

NAVAL INTELLIGENCE SQUADRON. Prior to the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, the Hebrew name for this unit was Mahleket Modi'in (Mahman), also known as Yam 4. After the war, the unit was renamed Mispan Modi'in (Intelligence Dock). It is engaged primarily in collecting information on Arab naval activities, including those supporting **terrorism**. During the Cold War, Israeli Naval Intelligence also collected information on Soviet naval activities, especially in the Mediterranean Sea.

On the eve of the Yom Kippur War, the unit was concerned with information gathering, especially indicative signs, only regarding the Egyptian Navy. For this reason Naval Intelligence assessments were not based on the **Concept**. From the indicative signs, principally observations along the Suez Canal, the assessment of the unit, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Avraham (Rami) Lunz, was that the Egyptian preparations were for war, not exercises. Naval Intelligence discerned Egyptian forces removing mines along the Suez Canal zone. On 30 September 1973 Lunz presented his assessment at a briefing

in the bureau of Admiral Binyamin Telem, who instructed the Israeli Navy to prepare for war. The next day, Lunz tried to convince the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**, that war was imminent. Zeira maintained that the information of MI was better than that of Naval Intelligence, hence also MI's assessment.

Subsequently Naval Intelligence scored more successes, especially in detecting and capturing two vessels attempting to smuggle munitions to the Palestinians: the *Santorini* in May 2001 and the *Karine-A* in January 2002.

Naval Intelligence is the smallest of the Israeli Navy's units. Its personnel, numbering just a few hundred people, collect intelligence from bases and vessels and analyze it in two departments: one for early warning, and the other for operations. In contrast to MI, the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), the **Mossad**, and the **Air Intelligence Squadron**, Naval Intelligence has remained underground—even its headquarters are subterranean. The officers and researchers of Naval Intelligence are professionals and none of them is ever appointed head of Naval Intelligence, a post always held by one of the Navy's senior operational commanders. One of the previous chiefs of Naval Intelligence, Admiral (equivalent) Yedidya Ya'ari, made his way up the command hierarchy and became commander-in-chief of the navy.

NAWI, ELIYAHU (1920–). Born in Basra, Iraq, Nawi was in charge of "black" propaganda to Arab countries on Israel Radio, in conjunction with **Unit 132** of **Military Intelligence**. He is a lawyer and a judge, a Bible scholar, and a politician, who at one time was mayor of the city of Beer Sheba.

NAYIFA, AQUALA. An Arab woman from Haifa who abhorred Jews and idolized Egyptian ruler Gamal Abdel Nasser in the early 1950s, Nayifa accomplished several unimportant missions for Jordanian intelligence, such as buying Israeli postcards in the hope that they might show Israeli Army bases. She was arrested in June 1957 when crossing the border at Beit Safafa to the Jordanian side.

NE'EMAN, YUVAL (1925–). Born in Tel Aviv, Ne'eman joined the Haganah underground militia at age 15. During Israel's 1948–1949 War of Independence, he served as a deputy battalion commander

and deputy commander of the Operations Department of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) General Staff. From 1952 to 1954 he was commander of the IDF Planning Department, where he was instrumental in organizing the IDF as a reservist-based army and devising the mobilization system. He was appointed deputy director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI) in 1956 and that summer assigned **Mordechai (Motke) Kedar** to an espionage mission in Arab countries.

Prior to the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, Ne'eman was appointed MI's representative in Paris, where he consolidated the secret link between the Israeli and the French intelligence communities. In 1958 Ne'eman was appointed military attaché at the Israeli embassy in London, a position he held until 1960. During his stay in Great Britain, he completed his doctorate in physics. Returning to Israel, he was made a member of Israeli Committee for Atomic Energy (1960–1961). He was demobilized from the IDF with rank of colonel in 1961.

During the 1967 **Six-Day War** and the1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Ne'eman as a reservist was an assistant to the director of MI for special tasks. His other posts have included scientific director of Israel's nuclear reactor at Nahal Sorek (1961–1963), research associate (1963–1964), and guest professor in theoretical physics (1964–1965) at the California Institute of Technology. At times during his stay in the United States his specialty in physics, combined with his Israeli national security background, aroused suspicions in the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation of his acting for the Israeli **nuclear weapons program**.

Ne'eman was also an associate of the Trieste International Institute of Theoretical Physics (1965); professor and chairman of the Physics and Astronomy Department at Tel Aviv University (1965–1972); vice president of Tel Aviv University (1965–1966); a member of the Israeli National Academy of Sciences (1966); a member of the Academy and director of the Center of Particle Theory at the University of Texas (1968); winner of Israel Prize for Exact Sciences (1969) as well as many other international prizes; president of Tel Aviv University (1971–1975); senior adviser to the Israeli minister of defense (1975); a founder-member of the Tehiya movement (1979–1992); chairman of the Ministerial Committee for Science and Technology; alternate chairman of the Joint Committee for Settlement of the Israeli government and the World Zionist Federation; and chairman of

the Planning Commission of the Seas Project. Intermittently from 1982 to 1996 he was member of the Knesset, minister of science and development, minister for science and technology, and minister for infrastructure.

NEVIOTH. *See* MOSSAD.

NEVOT, NAHUM (NAHIK). Known to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency by his code name, Peter Mandy. During his 30-year espionage career in the **Mossad**, Nevot rose through the ranks and became a senior executive. In 1980 he succeeded **David (Dave) Kimche** as deputy director of the Mossad and was placed in charge of Mossad liaison with the Christians of Lebanon, which had been Kimche's task previously. In January 1982 Nevot accompanied Israeli defense minister Ariel Sharon to a secret meeting with Bashir Gemayel in Lebanon regarding the impending Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This discussion centered on how long the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) would have to remain in Lebanon to ensure the emergence of a Phalangist-dominated regime in the country. In March 1982, after a secret visit to Lebanon by the IDF chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Rafael Eitan, some doubts arose about the benefits of such an invasion. Nevot then pressed strongly for it despite the assessment of **Military Intelligence** (MI) that the Phalangists could not be relied upon. In 1982 Nevot was even mentioned as a candidate for the Mossad directorship.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon took place in June 1982; however, matters went awry, and after Gemayel was killed on 14 September, Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin chastised Nevot for failing to deliver the Phalangist goods. On 15 September Nevot flew to Lebanon, again with Sharon, to express Israel's condolences to the Gemayel family. At the meeting between Sharon and Bashir's father, Pierre Gemayel, a veteran militia leader, important issues were raised about the future of Lebanon. Nevot took handwritten minutes of the meeting, which he then kept locked in a Mossad safe. These minutes later became an important exhibit in Sharon's successful libel suit against *Time* magazine for falsely reporting that Sharon suggested that the Gemayels take revenge on the Palestinians remaining in Beirut.

NEW ZEALAND PASSPORTS. In November 2003 two Israelis, Uriel Kelman (age 30) and Eli Cara (50), arrived in Auckland, New Zealand, traveling on U.S. and Israeli passports, respectively. On 23 March 2004 the two men were released on bail after being arrested by the New Zealand police for fraudulently attempting to obtain New Zealand passports. They were caught after one of them, in applying for the passports, assumed the identity of a New Zealand citizen who was wheelchair-bound while he himself was not in a wheelchair. The two men allegedly were **Mossad** case officers. They admitted trying to obtain fake passports but denied any connection to the Mossad. The New Zealand authorities believed that two more men were involved in this plot: Ze'ev William Barkan (36), who had left the country, and a non-Israeli whose name was not known to the New Zealand authorities but whom they thought was connected to the Mossad.

The Israeli government did not publicly admit that Kelman and Cara were Mossad officers, but the case still caused political embarrassment that complicated Israeli relations with New Zealand. In July 2004 the two men were found guilty of the charges and were sentenced to six months in prison, a relatively short sentence, after they changed their plea to guilty. They were also ordered to donate the equivalent of $50,000 to the Cerebral Palsy Society of New Zealand. Israeli foreign minister Silvan Shalom commented that Israel would work to restore cordial diplomatic relations with New Zealand.

The Mossad has a long history of using fake documents and passports. It is assumed that as part of Israel's war against Arab **terrorists**, Mossad case officers must occasionally visit Islamic countries in the Far East that harbor terrorists or in which terrorist cells exist. Israeli-passport holders are generally not admitted to such countries. The Mossad is also known for having one of the best passport manufacturing systems in the world, a system that includes a facility to duplicate the exact chemical formula for the proprietary paper that each country uses to print its passports, and a library of passport stamps and signatures. *See also* KHALED MASH'AL FIASCO.

NIGHT OF DUCKS. Epithet for a mobilization exercise of Israel Defense Forces (IDF) reservists in April 1959 that went awry. A general call-up of the reserves was broadcast over Israel Radio, without prior

announcement that a call-up exercise was to be held. Arab armies believed that Israel was preparing for war and went to a state of high alert.

A rehearsal was held at the beginning of 1959, when the Israel Air Force commander, Major General Ezer Weizman, and the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), Major General **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, proposed carrying out this kind of mobilization exercise. The chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Haim Laskov, submitted the plan for the exercise to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who approved it. The head of the IDF Operations Directorate, Major General Meir Zorea, instructed that prior announcement of the exercise be published in the press at least 48 hours in advance of its execution to prevent panic in the Israeli population, and in the entire world, which might believe that actual war was about to break out. However, because of a communications failure between the Operations Directorate and Field Security in MI, the press announcements about the forthcoming mobilization exercise were not published. On the night of 1 April 1959, Israel Radio broadcast a call-up of the reserves, with the unwanted alarm resulting. Zorea and Harkabi were forced to resign in the scandal's aftermath.

NILI. The Hebrew acronym for the biblical phrase *netzah yisrael lo yeshaker* ("the Everlasting of Israel will not lie," 1 Sam. 15:29) was the name given to a Jewish espionage network established in Israel during the last years of the Ottoman Empire in World War I. NILI was formed in 1915 by **Sarah Aaronsohn**, her brother **Aharon Aaronsohn**, and **Avshalom Feinberg**. Other key members were **Yosef Lishansky** and **Naaman Belkind**. The founders believed that by spying for the British they could bring about a British victory over the Turks, who then ruled Palestine, and thereby gain a Jewish state. The main mission of NILI was to assist the British forces under General Edmund H. H. Allenby to conquer Palestine, thus helping to realize Zionist aspirations.

For almost two years Aharon Aaronson, a botanist by training, entreated the British to accept information from him on the movements of the Turkish army in Palestine and on the conditions of the terrain. When approval was received, the entire burden of activating the NILI underground fell to Aharon's sister, Sarah, whose other siblings, apart from Aharon himself—namely, Alexander, Shmuel, and Rivka—were then abroad.

Once every two weeks, Sarah Aaronsohn would hold parties at the botanical experimental station that were as "licentious as in those conducted in the palaces of Rome," as Aziz Bey, the head of Turkish intelligence, described them in his diary. Among the guests at the parties were officers of the Turkish coast guard. When they got drunk, they gave away information, which was conveyed to a British ship lying offshore.

The group was able to operate only eight months before being detected. The members of the NILI spy network were careless in every aspect of subterfuge and secrecy, and they endangered the entire village of Zichron Yaakov where they lived and out of which they operated. The group was exposed because they used carrier pigeons to send messages. Using these birds requires expert skills that the NILI people lacked, so it is not surprising that not one of the pigeons dispatched by the NILI members reached its destination. All but two were lost; one of the two surviving birds alighted in the pigeon coop of Ahmad Bey, the Turkish governor in Caesarea, precisely when he was feeding his own pigeons. He caught it and discovered attached to its foot a note that Sarah had written in code.

In October 1917, at the close of the Jewish festival of Tabernacles, the Turks surrounded Zichron Yaakov and arrested her father Fischel Aaronsohn, her brother Zvi, and several more members of NILI. They were taken to the command post in the center of the village, where their captors tortured them to extract the hiding place of Lishansky and other members of the network. Sarah Aaronsohn bravely withstood the torture even when they hung her by her hands, whipped the soles of her feet, placed scorching eggs in her armpits and between her thighs, and pulled out her fingernails. The torments continued for three days, and the screams were heard all through the village. About to be sent to Damascus to be hanged, Sarah received permission to go home to change her clothes. Making use of the opportunity, she shot herself there. After her death, NILI's activities ceased. With the death of Aharon Aaronsohn in an air accident on May 1919, the group finally broke up. Officially the leadership of the Jewish community in Palestine dissociated itself from NILI's activities.

NIMRODI, YA'ACOV (1926–). Born in Iraq to a poor family with 10 children, Nimrodi was brought up from childhood in Jerusalem.

At age 15 he joined the Shahar, the **Arab Platoon** of the Palmah underground militia. After Israel's War of Independence, Nimrodi became an intelligence officer in **Military Intelligence** (MI) as an agent runner. In 1955 Nimrodi assumed the position of Israeli military attaché in Tehran with the rank of colonel. In fact he was an agent of MI and of the **Mossad** charged with developing relations with Iran as part of Israel's **Periphery Doctrine**.

No Israeli representative in Iran during the shah's regime was more significant or influential than Nimrodi. He reportedly helped organize and encourage the rebellion of Kurdish tribesmen against Iraq, the shah's main political and military rival in the region. Nimrodi was actually the "chief government agent for Israel's burgeoning arms industry." He was known as an all-purpose "fixer" and was on intimate terms with the shah and his generals. He would even boast to his friends that he was in "partnership" with the shah. Among other coups, Nimrodi sold the Iranian Army on the Israeli-made Uzi submachine gun. As the Mossad agent who could properly boast of having "built" the Iranian National Organization for Intelligence and Security (SAVAK) into an efficient but brutal intelligence service, he was no less intimate with the keepers of the shah's secrets.

Nimrodi ended his term in Iran in 1969 and returned to Israel. There he lobbied for the job of military governor of the West Bank, occupied by Israel in the 1967 **Six-Day War**. Being turned down for the job, he resigned from the army.

As a private citizen, Nimrodi became a merchant selling arms and other Israeli products to Iran. All the sales to Iran that he had previously arranged during his "low-salary" military career were now handled by Nimrodi as a private businessman. In the Six-Day War, massive quantities of Soviet weapons were captured by the IDF from the Arab armies, and Israel decided to transfer these weapons to the Kurds of Iraq. Nimrodi served as the main channel for this transaction. He, like other wealthy businessmen, invested millions in the shah's Iran, and as a result accumulated an enormous fortune. This profit making came to an end with the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979; however, Nimrodi had banked wisely in Europe and was not harmed. He moved to London, where he maintained his contacts with exiled Iranians.

In the first half of the 1980s Nimrodi, still a private businessman, resumed his engagement in arms sales. As partners he had **David (Dave)**

Kimche, former deputy director of the Mossad and then director-general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, with a lasting penchant for clandestine activity; Al Schwimmer, an American-Jewish billionaire who had founded the Israeli aircraft industry and was a close friend of Shimon Peres; and the Saudi tycoon Adnan Khashoggi. These men became key figures in an arms deal with revolutionary Iran known later as the **Irangate Affair**. Nimrodi is now in retirement but still has many varied investments in Israel.

NINIO, MARCELLE VICTORINE (1929–). A Cairo-born Jew, Ninio was the daughter of a man who had fled from Bulgaria to Egypt on the eve of World War I. She worked in Cairo for a French water construction company. She was cosmopolitan and educated but she joined Ha'Shomer Ha'Tsair, the Jewish youth movement in Cairo, and Ha'Koach, the Jewish basketball team. In 1951 Ninio was recruited by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to the Cairo cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt.

On Dar's instructions, Ninio set up a travel agency in Cairo called Grunberg Travel; she was in charge of ticketing. This enabled members of the espionage network to buy tickets to Europe without arousing the suspicions of any other travel-agency clerk. Ninio was arrested together with all the other members of the network in Egypt after the **Bad Business** in 1954. Undergoing brutal interrogations, she attempted suicide but failed. She gave her interrogators information identifying **Max Binnet**, which led to his arrest.

Ninio was tried and on 27 January 1955 sentenced to 15 years in prison. After 14 years in jail, the prisoner exchange following the 1967 **Six-Day War** secured her release, together with the rest of the network's prisoners. They were allowed to leave Egypt for Europe, and thereafter they traveled to Israel. Their presence in Israel was an official secret until 1971, when on the occasion of Ninio's wedding Prime Minister Golda Meir decided that her presence and that of the other members of the network should no longer remain secret. On 30 March 2005 she was accorded recognition by Israel's president Moshe Katsav and the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General **Moshe Ya'alon**, for her services to the state and for her years of suffering.

NIR, AMIRAM (1950–1988). Nir, who was born in Israel, was appointed in late 1984, age 34, to the newly created post of adviser on

counterterrorism to the Israeli government, then under the premiership of Shimon Peres. He had previously served as party spokesperson and campaign manager in Peres's failed 1977 bid for premiership and subsequently as military correspondent for Israel Television; he was also a doctoral student at Tel Aviv University researching strategic studies. In the Israel Defense Forces reserves, Nir rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. For his 1984 appointment, he took an intelligence course, but the **Mossad** balked at this political appointment, claiming he was not qualified to advise on counterterrorism. From November 1984 to December 1985, Nir tried to build contacts in the intelligence community. As an outsider this was not an easy task. Nir, who was creative and dynamic, sought out areas that others deemed to be of no interest.

In his role as adviser on counterterrorism, Nir played a part in Israel's response to the 1985 hijacking of the Italian passenger liner *Achille Lauro*. The vessel was en route from Alexandria, Egypt, to the port of Ashdod on the Israeli coast when it was hijacked on 7 October. Israel quickly established contact with the United States, whose forces in the Mediterranean were put on special alert. Nir's opposite number in this episode was Colonel Oliver North of the U.S. National Security Council.

Concurrently, Prime Minister Shimon Peres, apparently in need of someone from outside the traditional ranks of the Israeli intelligence community to coordinate prospective arms sales to Iran in a covert American-Israeli scheme later known as **Irangate Affair**, found Nir suitable for the job. Although not a member of the Israeli intelligence community, and working behind the Mossad's back, he became privy to documents containing all the sensitive details of the American-Israeli relationship since the early 1980s. Nir's U.S. counterpart in Irangate was again Colonel North.

When the story of secret dealings between the United States, Israel, and Iran first appeared in the press in November 1986, North wanted Nir to take the blame for the joint plan. Nir refused. He resigned from government service in March 1987. Apparently he opened a London-based regional sales office for an unidentified Israeli security firm, from which he engaged in arms and oil contracts with Mexican buyers. On 28 November 1988 Nir arrived in Mexico City from Madrid. Identifying himself as Patrick Weber, he chartered a twin-engine Cessna from the Aerotaxis de Urupan commuter airline

for a flight to Urupan, Mexico, with an unidentified Italian partner. The airplane took off in good condition, but then experienced engine trouble and crashed. Nir was apparently killed in the crash, although other reports maintain that Nir was killed while still in Mexico City, before boarding the plane. The circumstances of how Nir died remain clouded in mystery.

Six months before he was killed, in an interview with Bob Woodward of the *Washington Post*, Nir had said that he was considering the best way to sell the Irangate story but had not yet decided on it. He knew more than any other Israeli about the quantities and types of arms sent to Iran, how much was paid, where the money was deposited, and who profited from the sales. The Israeli government forbade Nir from answering questions of the U.S. Justice Department and congressional committees. Despite his key role in Irangate, Nir was the only person deeply involved in the affair who never testified publicly.

NOAH'S ARK OPERATION. Code name for Israel's "theft" of five missile boats it had ordered—and paid for—from the French shipyard at Cherbourg at the end of 1969.

In late 1962 Israel decided to modernize its navy; its aging destroyers were to be replaced by modern missile boats. Later, the destroyer ***Eilat*'s sinking** by two Soviet-built Egyptian missile boats on 21 October 1967 would make the need for modernization even more pressing.

In 1962 Israel placed an order for missile boats with West German shipyards under the umbrella of German reparations for the Holocaust. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer agreed that the shipyards would build 12 missile boats for the Israeli Navy on condition that the transaction be kept secret so as not to incur the wrath of the Arab world. By the end of 1964 three of the missile boats had been built and delivered. However, certain members of the West German government leaked news of the deal to the *New York Times*, with the result that the remaining missile boats, though still being financed by the reparations scheme, would have to be built outside West Germany. The contract for building the nine missile boats was given to the Cherbourg shipyards in Normandy on the northern coast of France. The Cherbourg shipyards had little experience in building such boats, but with

the West German designs and the Israelis on hand, they were able to begin construction. At the same time, the Gabriel missiles to be installed in the boats were being built in Israel.

Reserve admiral Mordecai Limon oversaw the Cherbourg project. At that time he chaired the Purchasing Mission of the Israeli Defense Ministry. In April 1967 the first missile boat of the nine outstanding was delivered to the Israeli Navy, and in May the second (the fifth in the entire project) was delivered.

During the crisis on the eve of the 1967 **Six-Day War**, French President Charles de Gaulle declared on 2 June that France would no longer supply offensive weapons to the Middle East. This clearly meant that Israel was to suffer a disadvantage, as the Arab world was obtaining its arms from the Soviet Union. However, since the building of the missile boats in the Cherbourg shipyards was a contract in progress, two more boats were delivered to the Israeli Navy in the fall of 1967.

Following a Palestinian terrorist attack on an Israeli aircraft at the Athens airport on 26 December 1967 and the Israeli retaliation against the Beirut airport two days later, blowing up 13 Lebanese airplanes on the ground, de Gaulle declared that the French arms embargo would now be total, including the Cherbourg boats, despite the fact that they had already been paid for.

On 4 January 1968, a week after de Gaulle's announcement, small Israeli crews made their way aboard three more missile boats that were almost finished. They spent three hours getting them ready, after which they hoisted the Israeli ensign and set sail. The craft moved into the English Channel and never returned.

In Cherbourg, work continued on the four remaining missile boats even though the French government had no intention of allowing Israel to have them. But Israeli officials had not given up on what they considered to be their property, and in November 1969 Admiral Limon initiated the clandestine Noah's Ark Operation to acquire the rest of the 12-boat fleet.

The Israeli Maritime Fruit Company, at the request of Limon, registered the fictitious Starboat Line. Its principal shareholder was Mila Brener, director of the Maritime Fruit Company. Brener contacted renowned Norwegian shipping expert Ole Martin Siem and invited him to join Starboat's board of directors for the specific purpose of

purchasing the missile boats. On 10 November 1969, Limon informed Cherbourg shipyard officials that the Israeli government had decided to seek compensation from the French government for breaching the agreement to deliver the missile boats to Israel, but that Israel would concede the boats. The next day, Limon received a generous compensation offer from the Cherbourg officials, whereupon he gave the go-ahead for Starboat's purchase of the craft.

Siem met the French government's arms vendor, General Louis Bone, and told him that he had heard that several missile boats were for sale and that he thought they might be converted to drill for oil. The French general agreed to the sale in principle, on condition that the boats were not reexported from Norway after their oil exploration activity was over. Siem gave the French official his unequivocal guarantee of this.

The next stage was to arrange a crew of 120 Israeli seamen to take over the boats. The decision was to send only two men at a time to France, to avoid any French suspicions that might be kindled if so many Israelis were seen together in Cherbourg. The men were instructed not to stay at hotels close to the shipyard. All traveled with genuine Israeli passports so that if they were caught they could not be charged with carrying forged documents. By 23 December 1969 all the seamen had reached their destination. The problem was that a French official might notice eight days' supplies being loaded for a "short voyage to Norway." It was solved by buying food at different stores in the city and smuggling it aboard. The same solution was used for the fuel supply.

On Christmas Eve 1969, rain was forecast in Cherbourg, driving in from the southwest; nevertheless, at 8:30 P.M. the order to weigh anchor was given. The crews were already aboard, but because of the weather the commanders on the spot contemplated delaying the departure. However, instructions from Israel were to depart whatever the weather. At 2:30 in the early hours of Christmas Day, the boats put out to sea en route for Israel.

On the morning of 26 December, the French authorities realized what had really happened on Christmas Eve. Although the Israeli government did not admit responsibility for the affair, Limon, who had lived in France for seven years, was declared persona non grata by the French government and told to leave. Two French generals

were dismissed for their part in approving the sale of the missile boats to the fictitious Starboat Line. Seven days after leaving Cherbourg, the missile boats anchored in Haifa port.

NOKMIM. *See* AVENGERS.

NORTH THEATER/ZIRA TSEFONIT (ZITSAP). The desk in **Military Intelligence** responsible for Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq. Before the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, this desk was designated **Branch 5**.

NUCLEAR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT CORPORATION (NUMEC). NUMEC was formed in 1957 by an American Jew, Dr. Zalman M. Shapiro, for the manufacture of nuclear fuels and specialty metals. The company operated from a facility near Apollo, Pennsylvania. From the early 1960s through 1970, NUMEC disposed of radioactive and nonradioactive waste generated from the company facility in accordance with the U.S. regulations at that time. Shapiro, who served as NUMEC's president, was a staunch supporter of Israel. He was in a position to bid for government contracts to process uranium and to produce fuels for reactors and for the U.S. space program. He even won contracts to work with Admiral Hyman Rickover, father of the U.S. nuclear submarine fleet.

In the early 1960s the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** (LAKAM) decided to use NUMEC to obtain uranium for the Israeli **nuclear weapons program**. For this purpose, a **dummy company**, Isotopes and Radiation Enterprises (ISORAD), was formed in the United States. ISORAD was owned half by NUMEC and half by the Israeli government. Officially the company was engaged in developing techniques to preserve fruit through irradiation; in reality, it served as the pipeline for obtaining uranium from NUMEC for the Israeli nuclear weapons program. LAKAM even succeeded in slipping the Israeli metallurgist Baruch (Bernard) Sinai into NUMEC as a consultant. Ephraim Lahav and Avraham Hermoni, officially the Israeli scientific attachés at the embassy in Washington, D.C., but in fact LAKAM representatives in the United States, were frequent visitors at the NUMEC plant.

In the 1960s Shapiro succeeded in diverting large quantities of weapons-grade uranium to Israel. In those years the unaccounted-for

uranium missing from NUMEC's Apollo plant sparked the curiosity of the FBI, the CIA, Congress, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and its successor the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and the Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations. NUMEC paid almost $930,000 in fines to the AEC for the lost uranium. However, some reports have suggested that much of the missing uranium was recovered from floors and ventilation ducts when the facility was eventually decommissioned.

In 1967 Atlantic Richfield Co. purchased NUMEC, which in 1971 it sold to Babcock and Wilcox. Even years later Shapiro refused to talk about the allegations and the numerous federal investigations of himself and his upstart nuclear fuel company.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM. In 1948, soon after its establishment as a state, Israel began to examine the nuclear option. In 1949 Science Corps C, a special unit of the Israel Defense Force's Science Corps, began a two-year geological survey of the Negev Desert to discover uranium reserves. Although no significant sources were found, recoverable amounts were located in phosphate deposits.

Israeli and French research institutes worked closely together. Before World War II, France had been a leader in nuclear physics research, but subsequently it lagged far behind the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom. Israel and France were at a similar level of expertise, so nuclear technology in both countries developed in close alignment in the early 1950s. For example, Israeli scientists were involved in the construction of the (military) G-1 plutonium production reactor and the UP-1 reprocessing plant at Marcoule. In the 1950s and early 1960s, France was Israel's major arms supplier, and as instability spread in the French North African colonies, Israel provided valuable intelligence obtained from those countries.

The Israeli Atomic Energy Commission was established in 1952. By then Science Corps C had succeeded in perfecting the process to extract uranium found in the Negev. It was also able to produce heavy water for a research reactor. Israel decided on the use of heavy water for cooling and of natural uranium as fuel. Normal light water would require enriched uranium, and that was too difficult to obtain. Heavy-water reactors with natural uranium fuel could produce plutonium extremely efficiently.

On 3 October 1957, France and Israel concluded an agreement for the construction of a 24-megawatt (MW) research reactor at Dimona in the Negev Desert. France also undertook to build a chemical reprocessing plant, although this understanding was not committed to writing. French and Israeli operatives started building the complex in secret. French customs officials were told that certain components, such as the reactor tank, were being shipped to a desalinization plant in Latin America. Moreover, the French Air Force secretly flew as much as four tons of heavy water to Israel, after the French purchased it from Norway on condition that it would not be transferred to a third country.

In 1960 the construction work encountered problems when France urged Israel to submit Dimona to international inspections. France feared a scandal when it became clear that it had aided Israel, especially on a reprocessing plant. Israel worked out a compromise: France would supply the uranium and components that were promised and would not insist on international inspections as long as Israel assured France that it had no intention of making nuclear weapons.

The reactor's existence could not be kept secret from the world. In 1958, U.S. U-2 spy planes took pictures of the facility under construction, although the United States did not identify it at that time as a nuclear reactor. It was variously explained as a textile plant, an agricultural station, or a metallurgical research facility. Eventually, however, it was impossible to deny that the facility was anything other than a reactor because of its characteristic dome shape. In December 1960, Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion announced that Dimona was a nuclear research center for "peaceful purposes."

Dimona achieved criticality in 1964. French officials were surprised to discover that the cooling circuits were designed to support three times the original power level (24 MW). Without additional cooling, power was indeed scaled up to 70 MW years later.

Besides the reactor and the underground reprocessing plant at Dimona, there is a uranium-processing facility, a waste treatment plant, a fuel fabrication facility, a laboratory, and a depleted-uranium-bullet factory. It also contains a facility for uranium enrichment tests.

Presently it is feared that the aged reactor, functioning for more than 40 years, is in a poor state. Former workers have revealed to the media

that safety procedures are alarmingly inadequate, and that workers become contaminated, being exposed to high levels of radiation.

Israel has always encountered problems acquiring uranium for the reactor because it has not signed the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). However, it was able to develop some capability of extracting uranium from phosphate ores at Dimona; it has also used "gray market" channels to fuel the reactor. In 1965 up to 220 pounds (100 kilograms) of highly enriched uranium was lost from the U.S.-based **Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation** (NUMEC) in Apollo, Pennsylvania; the existence of certain nuclear materials deals between the NUMEC chairman and Israel led to the belief that the uranium had gone to Israel. Furthermore, in 1968 a 200-ton load of uranium (yellowcake) was stolen (or just delivered) from the German vessel *Scheersberg A* as part of the **Plumbat Operation**.

Cooperation between Israel and South Africa on nuclear technology seems to have started around 1967 and lasted through the 1970s and 1980s, during which years South Africa was a principal uranium supplier for Dimona. Israel might have played a part in a nuclear weapons test in the Indian Ocean on 22 September 1979 that is generally believed to have been a joint South African–Israeli test.

Israel has long had close relations with the United States. In 1955, before the contract for Dimona was signed, the United States agreed to sell a 5-MW swimming-pool research reactor to an Israeli facility at Nahal Soreq, south of Tel Aviv. But the United States obliged Israel to accept safeguards because it supplied highly enriched uranium fuel for the reactor.

With the 1960 official announcement that Israel had a reactor for "peaceful purposes," relations between the United States and Israel cooled over the issue. Publicly the United States accepted Israel's declaration of peaceful purposes, but privately it exerted pressure. As a result, Israel finally committed to admit U.S. inspection teams once a year. These inspections took place between 1962 and 1969 but were in fact a sham. The inspectors saw only above-ground parts of the facility, with simulated control rooms; access to the underground rooms was hidden from them, and it was there, on many levels, that the plutonium reprocessing actually took place.

The U.S. inspectors could report no obvious scientific research or civilian nuclear power program was evident to justify such a large re-

actor, but they found no hard evidence of weapons-related activities such as the existence of the plutonium-reprocessing plant.

In 1968, however, based on information from Edward Teller, father of the U.S. hydrogen bomb, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) concluded that Israel had started producing nuclear weapons. Teller had heard this, he said, from Israeli friends in the scientific and defense establishment. He counseled the CIA to make a final assessment without waiting for an Israeli nuclear test, because one would never be conducted. In 1981 the United States embargoed further shipments of highly enriched uranium fuel to the Nahal Soreq reactor.

After the opening of the Dimona reactor in 1964, it started producing plutonium. During the 1967 **Six-Day War**, the first two developed bombs may have been armed. It was also reported that, fearing defeat in the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, the Israeli army readied 13 bombs of 20 kilotons each for use. Missiles and aircraft were armed with the bombs for an attack on Egypt and Syrian targets. During the 1991 Gulf War, Israel went on full-scale nuclear alert when seven Iraqi Scud missiles were fired at Israeli cities. Only three missiles, conventionally armed, hit Tel Aviv and Haifa, with only minor damage. But the Israeli government warned Iraq of a counterstrike if the Iraqis used chemical warheads; this clearly meant that Israel intended to launch a nuclear strike if gas attacks occurred.

In 1986, former Dimona worker **Mordechai Vanunu** revealed details of the Dimona plant to the London *Sunday Times*. His descriptions and the photographs he took during his employment supported the conclusion that Israel had a stockpile of 100–200 nuclear warheads. Following his revelations, Vanunu fell into a trap by the **Mossad** and was kidnapped. In a closed-door trial, he was convicted and given an 18-year prison term (to be spent in isolation).

In the late 1990s, U.S. intelligence organizations estimated that Israel possessed between 75 and 130 nuclear warheads, which, they believed, could be used in Jericho missiles and as bombs in aircraft. Israel has never conducted a weapons test of its own, apart from the probable joint test with South Africa in 1979. However a subcritical test (with no real nuclear explosion) may have been carried out in November 1966 at Al-Naqab in the Negev Desert.

Israel conducted several acts of sabotage against Iraq out of concern about that country's nuclear weapons development. In April

1979 the Mossad was believed responsible for two explosions at a construction yard in Seine-sur-Mer, France. Two research reactor cores destined for Iraq were badly damaged.

In June 1980 Dr. Yahya Meshed was assassinated in Paris, where he was negotiating a contract for Iraq to take over Iran's share of the French Eurodif enrichment plant. Even earlier, in 1978, unknown attackers had tried to kill him when he was a technical liaison officer with France for the export of the Osiris research reactor.

Israel's most famous act of sabotage is the bombing of the Tammuz-1 research reactor at the Tuwaitha Nuclear Research Center near Baghdad. On 7 June 1981, Israeli aircraft bombed and destroyed the 70-MW reactor completely in the **Opera Operation**. According to Israel, Iraq was about to start producing plutonium in the reactor for the manufacture of a nuclear weapon.

Recently, concerns have been expressed that Israel considered bombing Iranian nuclear facilities, where Iran is continuing its construction with the help of Russia.

– O –

ÖCALAN'S CAPTURE. Abdullah Öcalan was born in 1948 in Ömerli, a village in the Halfeti district in Ufra province in southeast Turkey. He studied political science at Ankara University. After completing his studies, he entered the civil service at Diyarbakir. Öcalan was influenced by the situation of the Kurdish people, who, he believed, were denied by the Turkish state the right to live according to their own cultural identity. He became an active member of the Democratic Cultural Association of the East, a group promoting the rights of the Kurdish people. In 1984 the Kurdistan Workers party (PKK) began to launch attacks against the governments in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey with the goal of creating an independent Kurdish state. Approximately 30,000 people died as a result of the conflict between the Turkish state and the PKK. Öcalan was considered a terrorist by the Turkish government.

Until 1998 Syria harbored Öcalan. As the situation in Turkey deteriorated, the Turkish government openly threatened Syria not to support the PKK. As a result, the Syrian government forced Öcalan to

leave the country, although it did not hand him over to the Turkish authorities. Öcalan went to Russia first, and from there he moved to various countries, including Italy and then Greece and Kenya.

In late November 1998 Turkish prime minister Bluent Ecevit asked Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu if the **Mossad** could help to capture Öcalan. For Israel, a close working relationship with Turkey was considered an important strategic factor as part of its **Periphery Doctrine**. Netanyahu agreed and instructed the director of the Mossad, **Efraim Halevy**, to trace Öcalan for Turkey. The plan to trace Öcalan was code-named Watchful.

Six Mossad agents were dispatched to Rome, including a woman assistant—a position known in Mossad jargon as *Bath Levayah*—and two technicians. The team set up surveillance on Öcalan's apartment close to the Vatican, but Öcalan suddenly left Italy before being found. The Mossad team then began to search for him in most Mediterranean countries; however, it learned that on 2 February 1999 Öcalan had attempted to enter the Netherlands but was turned away by Dutch authorities. Sources within Schiphol Airport security informed the Mossad that Öcalan had boarded a flight to Nairobi. Kenya was considered easy terrain for the Mossad, since the relations between the intelligence communities had developed over the years into fruitful cooperation.

Soon Öcalan was traced near the Greek embassy compound in Nairobi, with his Kurdish bodyguards going in and out frequently. The Mossad team reported daily to Tel Aviv on every move around the compound and was ordered simply to continue to watch until the instruction was given to capture Öcalan. The Mossad learned that Öcalan had been turned down for political asylum in South Africa and other African countries.

A member of the Mossad team with Kurdish appearance phoned one of the Kurdish bodyguards whose identity had became known when he was seen emerging from the embassy en route to the Norfolk Hotel. The Mossad agent suggested a meeting in town, at which the agent told the Kurd that Öcalan's life would be in danger if he remained in the compound. He suggested that Öcalan move to the mountains of northern Iraq, where he would be safe. This was an idea that Öcalan himself had started to consider, as the Mossad had learned by intercepting his phone calls from the Greek embassy. Eventually Öcalan took the bait.

On 15 February 1999 a Falcon 900 executive jet landed at Nairobi's Wilson Airport. The pilot told the airport authorities that he had come to pick up a group of businessmen. In fact, Öcalan was by some means placed aboard the jet. According to some reports, Öcalan had been drugged by the Mossad agents. Other versions maintain that capturing Öcalan was a joint venture by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Mossad.

Öcalan was flown to Turkey for trial. After his capture, he declared a "peace offensive" and the 15-year rebellion ceased, although there were several isolated incidents, often by groups posing as the PKK. Öcalan has been held in solitary confinement on Imrali Island in the Turkish Sea of Marmara since his capture. Though initially sentenced to death, this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment when the death penalty was conditionally abolished in Turkey in August 2002.

Although no one has publicly admitted that the Mossad was involved in the Öcalan affair, the Mossad as a result lost a Kurdish spy network in Iraq. The Öcalan case reveals how the Mossad sometimes works as a contractor for other governments, as in the **Ben-Barka Affair**.

OFEQ SATELLITES. The Scud missiles launched against Israel during the Gulf War in 1991 underlined the country's need of independent early-warning capabilities. Israeli technology enabled it to develop intelligence satellites, whose development had begun in the 1980s but accelerated after Desert Storm. The purpose of the satellites is to allow better and more effective tracking of targets, particularly in the so-called third circle of threats to Israel: Iran and other distant countries. Israel seeks to increase the transparency of these countries' weapons capabilities and deployment to reduce the risk of a surprise attack. So far, Israel is the only country in the Middle East with an independent intelligence satellite capability—a fact that yields many benefits. It provides an independent capability, for instance, to acquire information while avoiding exposure of the field of interest.

In 1988 Israel launched the Ofeq-1 satellite, and in 1990 the Ofeq-2. These devices were actually launched for research purposes, to examine various features of intelligence satellites. Israel's first operational intelligence satellite was Ofeq-3, which was launched in April 1995 by the Israeli-made Shavit-1 satellite launcher.

Technical specifications of Israeli satellite capabilities are not published. However, based on foreign sources, Ofeq-3 is capable of producing photographs of approximately 3.3-foot (1-meter) resolution. Ofeq-series satellites are exceptional among photoreconnaissance satellites in several aspects. They weigh only 415 pounds (189 kilograms), much less than other photoreconnaissance satellites with similar capabilities. Due to Israel's geographic, security, and safety limitations, they are launched on a westward trajectory, in contrast to most other satellites, which are launched eastward to benefit from the Earth's rotation.

Ofeq-4 was launched in January 1998, but the launch was unsuccessful. Ofeq-5, designed to replace Ofeq-3, was successfully launched in May 2002.

Ofeq-6, equipped with long-range cameras fitted with sophisticated night vision capabilities, was supposed to join Ofeq-5 but its launch in September 2004 failed. According to the assessment by Israel's Defense Ministry, the failure was due to a malfunction in the third stage of the launch, when its engine did not ignite after disengaging from the second stage. The Ofeq satellite project is estimated at $100 million per satellite, while the launcher's cost is in the tens of millions of dollars. Ofeq-6 is supposed to be followed by Ofeq-7 in 2007 or 2008.

Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) also undertook the Eros project, a series of civilian photoreconnaissance satellites, which used technology taken from the Ofeq satellites. The first in the series, the Eros A1, was launched in December 2000 from a Russian Start launcher. Eros A1 is capable of providing photographs with 6-foot (1.8-meter) resolution. These photographs are marketed by a commercial company, although it was reported that the Israel's Defense Ministry has acquired exclusive rights to the satellite's photographs of Middle Eastern countries.

In addition to the Ofeq series, more Eros satellites, of the Eros B series, are planned as well. These will provide photographs with a resolution of less than 3.3 feet (1 meter).

The development of a Techstar satellite, a radar photoreconnaissance satellite, has also been reported. This satellite will benefit from synthetic aperture radar technology, which can photograph images with a good resolution at night and in cloudy weather. Many countries are showing interest in buying Ofeq satellites.

OFFICE OF SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS. *See* BUREAU OF SCIENTIFIC LIAISON.

OPERA OPERATION. The code name of the Israel Air Force (IAF) bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor Tammuz-1 at Osirak on 7 June 1981. The raid surprised the Iraqis and the rest of the world; however, it had long been in the making by Israel and was executed only after failure on the diplomatic front and after consultation between Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin's cabinet and military and intelligence experts.

Israeli intelligence had confirmed Iraq's intentions to develop nuclear weapons at the Osirak reactor since the late 1970s and recognized that the Iraqi threats against Israel were real. In October 1979 Begin asked the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces to prepare plans to destroy the Iraqi reactor. In 1981 some estimates showed Iraq was 5–10 years away from a nuclear weapons capacity, while other intelligence reports estimated that Iraq could have a bomb within a year or two. The Israeli intelligence community further estimated that the reactor was nearly operational and was ready to take in nuclear fuel. Once the fuel was inside the reactor, bombing it could lead to radiation that would endanger the population of Baghdad. Accordingly, Israeli intelligence assessed that the summer of 1981 would be the last chance to act against the reactor.

After Israel calculated that it had the capability to launch the attack, it did not spring immediately into action. Instead, in an unconventional move, Chief of the General Staff Rafael Eitan allowed the officers of the General Staff and **Military Intelligence** (MI) analysts to express their views on the pros and cons of such an attack. Supporters and opponents were evenly divided. MI director Major General **Yehoshua Saguy** believed that the Iraqi reactor was not an imminent threat. However, because of his absence abroad, his deputy, the head of the MI Research Division, Brigadier General **Aviezer (Avik) Ya'ari**, presented the threat in grim colors based on a rigorous study prepared in his division. This finally convinced the Israeli cabinet to adopt the decision to conduct the raid.

On 7 June 1981 at 4:01 P.M., eight F-16s and six F-15s took off from the IAF base at Etzion in the northern Sinai Desert. That day was chosen on the assumption that, being a Sunday, the French scientists would not be working in the reactor. The hour for approach-

ing and leaving Tammuz-1 was to be last light so that the aircraft would be directly in front of the setting sun, making it more difficult for the Iraqi air defenses to see them. Flying time was estimated according to a route that minimized the chances of being detected by Jordanian, Saudi, or Iraqi radar. The bombing took place as planned, and all Israeli pilots and planes returned safely to base.

OPHIR, ZADOK. Ophir, an **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) case officer, in 1972 used the cover of first secretary in the Israeli embassy in Brussels, where he gathered information on Palestinian activities in Europe. In September 1972 Muhammad Rabah, a Moroccan double agent, attempted to kill Ophir, who was his case officer. Rabah phoned the Israeli embassy and was able to lure Ophir, and his colleague Baruch Cohen, to Café Prince in the town. Near the café he shot both of them. Ophir was wounded and his life was saved; Cohen died. The investigation in Israel revealed a grave breach in the basics of the intelligence tradecraft. It learned that in 1970 pictures of Ophir and of Cohen in army uniform were published in the Israel Defense Forces album marking 1,000 days since the 1967 **Six-Day War**. Rabah escaped after the assassination attempt, but was later caught and imprisoned. *See also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

OSTROVSKY, VICTOR (1949–). Born in Canada, Ostrovsky grew up in Israel. In his childhood, he showed an early inclination for painting. At age 18, he was conscripted for national service in the Israeli Navy and in due course was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. In October 1984, having completed his national service, Ostrovsky joined the **Mossad**. He joined because he believed that he would be able to retire at a young age with a good pension, as was usual for Mossad case officers. Ostrovsky underwent the regular training and was assigned to become a case officer. However, because of his behavior, in March 1986 he was dismissed while still a trainee after just 17 months. Thereupon he resolved to obtain his "pension" in another way, namely, by writing a best-seller about the Mossad. His first book on the subject, *By Way of Deception: The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer*, was published in September 1990.

Before that, the Mossad and the Israeli government had made their share of mistakes. First, Ostrovsky's trainers visited him in his Toronto apartment, trying to convince him not to publish the book. There had

been previous instances of former Mossad operatives threatening to publish some kind of story about the Mossad if they were not paid what they considered an adequate sum. Eventually deals were struck and the money was paid. Ostrovsky probably asked for too much.

Second, the Israeli government acted apparently unwisely in trying to have publication of *By Way of Deception* suppressed legally through the Canadian courts. It would have done well to recall what happened when the British government tried to halt legally the publication of the memoirs of Peter Wright, a former MI5 case officer, in his book *Spycatcher*. The English court ruled that in a democracy the publication of a book could not be restricted by legal means. Likewise, the Israeli government's lawsuit failed, and moreover the publicity surrounding the case made the book a number-one best-seller for several weeks. Ostrovsky garnered a huge audience for his medley of true and imagined stories. Fifteen thousand copies were sold within hours of the Canadian court decision.

The alternative of assassinating Ostrovsky was raised as well in the Israeli high echelons; however, such a course might have implied that everything he wrote was indeed genuine, and it would damage the Mossad's and Israel's interests. The idea was dropped. It might have been best simply to ignore the book, in which case it would probably have gathered dust on bookstores' shelves, not even reaching the libraries like thousands of other almost "science fiction" books about the Mossad.

Ostrovsky's account is sometimes reliable but not very interesting; he relates that intelligence agencies in Israel operate approximately as they do elsewhere. But what made his book a sensation were his stories about Mossad dirty tricks, and these won him fame and fortune. For example, he claims that the Mossad knew in advance about the truck bomb that killed 241 U.S. Marines in October 1983 in Beirut, but did not warn its American counterparts. He provides details of a mystery division of the Mossad called "Al." It is so "super-secret," he says, that most Mossad employees do not even know what it does. How a trainee found out more than the veterans remains an open question. Ostrovsky published his second book, *Lion of Judah*, in 1993 and *The Other Side of Deception: A Rogue Agent Exposes the Mossad's Secret Agenda* in 1994. In 2001 Ostrovsky published *Black Ghosts.*

OUR MAN IN DAMASCUS. *See* COHEN, ELI.

– P –

PALMON, YEHOSHUA (JOSH) (1913–?). Born in Palestine to a Russian Jewish family. Palmon was one of the first workers in the Palestine Potash Company in Sdom (1935–1939). He spoke Arabic fluently and formed the Arab Department of the **Information Service**. In 1940, he assumed the position of its national coordinator (1943–1948). During World War II, Palmon accomplished clandestine missions in Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria. Thereafter, he became a highly proficient intelligence officer of the prestate underground Haganah militia.

Throughout the Arab-Jewish hostilities in Palestine, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, Palmon was a close observer of factional Arab politics. He was aware of the bitter grudge that Fawzi al-Qawuqji, who would later become the commander of the Arab Liberation Army (ALA), held against Haj Amin al-Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem, who was the most prominent Arab figure in Palestine during the mandatory period. In 1947, Palmon had wartime German documents delivered to Qawuqji that he had unearthed concerning this enmity. The papers bore out Qawuqji's belief that his arrest and imprisonment by the German authorities had been prompted by the mufti. Qawuqji wanted to meet Palmon, but he abandoned the notion on being appointed to command the ALA. Other Arab officers who reached Palestine before their commander, however, made it known to Palmon that Qawuqji was not intent on going to war with the Jews and would be amenable to finding ways to prevent it.

The chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive agreed to a secret meeting between Palmon and Qawuqji to persuade the latter not to enter the fray between the Haganah and the mufti's forces. Palmon traveled to Qawuqji at his headquarters in Nur al-Shams village in Syria on 1 April 1948. Palmon eventually made known his real purpose in asking for the meeting, namely, to turn inter-Arab rivalries to the advantage of his side. He suggested that a solution to the problem of Palestine might be formulated were it not for the mufti and that, instead of fighting, the Haganah and the ALA should negotiate following Britain's impending withdrawal. While generally accepting this, Qawuqji stated candidly that he must have one military success to prove his credentials. Palmon could not promise to deliver, as an attack against the Jews would surely result in a counterattack. In the

end, however, he was convinced that Qawuqji would remain neutral in the event of a Jewish attack against the mufti's forces in Palestine.

As the war progressed, Palmon's neutralization of the ALA became evident. On 6 April 1948, the Haganah began the Nahshon Operation to open the Tel Aviv–Jerusalem road, which was being blocked by Palestinian irregulars. First, Hassan Salameh's headquarters in Ramallah were blown up. An ALA unit dispensing heavy guns was present in the neighborhood, but it did not lend Salameh any support. Thus, Qawuqji kept his word to Palmon.

Next came the battle for the strategic Qastal, a height overlooking the Jerusalem road. 'Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni telephoned Qawuqji for an urgent supply of arms and ammunition to drive the Jews back. The Arab League had supplied Qawuqji with large stocks of war material, but a Haganah listening post heard him reply that he had none. Al-Husayni himself was killed in the battle for Qastal on 9 April. He had been the most effective of the mufti's military commanders, and his death signaled the collapse of the Husayni forces in Palestine.

Following Israeli statehood in 1948, Palmon became the prime minister's adviser on Arab affairs (1949–1955) and subsequently promoted relations with Arabs in Europe (1955–1960). After the 1967 **Six-Day War**, he officiated over the Jerusalem municipality and was put in charge of East Jerusalem affairs (1971–1972).

PERI, YAAKOV (1944–). After completing his national service in the Israel Defense Forces in the early 1960s, the Israeli-born Peri earned his bachelor's degree in Middle Eastern studies and Jewish history at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He had a talent for music, playing in the Youth Brigades orchestra, the Voice of Israel Orchestra, and the Haifa Symphony Orchestra. To supplement his income, he answered a recruitment advertisement of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), and on 1 March 1966 he was recruited into the organization. Peri worked his way up through the ISA ranks, starting as a field officer in Israel's northern region. After the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Peri served in the Samaria sector in the West Bank. In 1975 he was appointed head of the ISA's training department. He commanded the ISA northern region in 1978, then the Jerusalem, Judea, and Samaria region. After

that, Peri was appointed deputy director of the ISA and in April 1988 director of the ISA. He held the post until 1 March 1995 when he retired from the service. As director, Peri had the task of rehabilitating the organization following the blow it had suffered as a result of the **Bus 300 Affair**.

After retiring from the ISA, Peri was appointed president and CEO of Celcom, the Israeli mobile phone company, where he remained until the end of 2002. On 24 February 2003 he was appointed chairman of the board of the Israeli Mizrahi Bank. Concurrently he became a board member and chairman or director of other Israeli public organizations.

PERIPHERY DOCTRINE. From the day of its establishment, Israel adopted a doctrine whereby it sought to counter its isolation by forming alliances with more remote, non-Arab neighbors—including Ethiopia, Iran, Sudan, Turkey, and to some degree even Morocco in the Maghreb—as well as non-Muslim minorities such as the Maronite Christians in Lebanon and the Kurds in Iraq.

Israel's relations with the Lebanese Maronites date back to 1920 with the first Treaty of Cooperation between the Zionist Organization and Maronite representatives. In the 1930s the Maronite Church became actively involved in reinforcing relations with the Jewish community in Palestine in an attempt to form an alliance against Islam. Fear of loss of ethnic and religious identity in a "vast sea of Muslims" led to the concept of a natural alliance between ethnic and religious minorities. The Maronites remained in contact with Israel throughout the 1948 War of Independence; with the new power of Israeli statehood, plans for a Maronite revolt in conjunction with an Israeli invasion of Lebanon were mooted several times from 1948 to 1950. In the end, Israel decided against such action and instead confined itself to supporting the Maronite Kataib party financially for the 1951 parliamentary elections. In 1956 Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion appended to his **Sinai campaign** the still unexecuted invasion of Lebanon to establish the Maronites in power and make Lebanon a Christian state. In 1958, during the first Lebanese civil war, Israel responded to the Maronites' appeal for help by providing arms via the border

town of Metulla. From 1958 to 1975 Israeli-Maronite relations fell to an all-time low with only sporadic personal meetings, mostly abroad. Israel's relations with the Maronites had been conducted mainly by the **Mossad**.

Turkey was the first country with a Muslim majority to recognize Israel, although positive relations with Israel were not a general priority for much of that country's history. Only with the end of the Cold War and the subsequent geopolitical developments in the 1990s did Turkey and Israel grow closer. In 1996 they formalized an accord cementing military ties between the two countries. Driven by common security interests, these states forged one of the most significant alliances in the Middle East. Both were regionally isolated, pro-Western, secular democracies fearful of the specter of radical Islamic groups, facing common enemies in Syria, Iran, and, at the time, Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Elsewhere, under the premise of the Periphery Doctrine, where "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," Israel over the decades has helped southern Sudanese, Iraqi Kurds, Yemeni royalists, Moroccans, Ethiopians, and the shah's regime in Iran, all with the goal of weakening the Arab mainstream. Relations with Iran especially were developed by the Israeli intelligence community, where **Ya'acov Nimrodi**, who represented the Mossad, contributed to the buildup of the Iranian National Organization for Intelligence and Security (SAVAK)—a sound strategy in the time of Gamal Abdel Nasser's pan-Arab vision and all-out Arab wars against Israel. Israeli assistance to peoples on the Arab periphery who were themselves locked in struggle with the Arab mainstream began in Ben-Gurion's day in the late 1950s and also provided nonmilitary benefits: oil from Iran, as well as immigration to Israel of beleaguered Jewish minorities in Iraq and Ethiopia. And it corresponded closely with the U.S. strategic priority of opposing Soviet-influenced regimes in the greater Middle East.

But some drastic changes transformed the region during the late 1970s. Periphery friends such as the shah of Iran and Ethiopia's Haile Selassie were overthrown by radicals, while the Arab mainstream, led by Anwar Sadat, began to make peace with Israel. If Jerusalem had to choose between peace, however cold, with Egypt, and aid to Haile Mariam Mengistu's Ethiopia or the southern Sudanese—both seen by

the Egyptians as potential threats to the sources of the Nile, its own paramount strategic interest—there was no contest.

In Lebanon, by contrast, with the first sign of trouble for the Maronites since the mid-1970s, the alliance was restored with even greater intensity. The 1982 Lebanon War, with its disastrous Israeli-Maronite, Israeli-Christian collaboration, sounded the death knell of the Periphery Doctrine. This was mainly due to the Mossad's failure to perceive the Maronites' incapacity to establish a state of their own in Lebanon—contrary to the **Military Intelligence** assessment that disparaged Maronite capabilities in this respect.

Since then, for better or for worse, Israel has played the Middle East strategic game by the local rules: an informal strategic alliance with non-Arab Turkey, but also with Arab Jordan; non-Arab Iran now tops the pile of Israel's enemies, while Arab Egypt is invited to help Israeli out in the Gaza Strip. *See also* ANYA NYA; BAKHTIAR, TAIMOUR; CAROZ, YA'ACOV; ÖCALAN'S CAPTURE; TRIDENT NETWORK.

PLUMBAT OPERATION. Also known as the Uranium Ship Operation. In November 1968, a combined **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** and **Mossad** operation was undertaken in support of the Israeli **nuclear weapons program**. A West German chemical corporation named Asmara had bought uranium through subsidiaries from a Belgian company, Société Générale de Mianro. The uranium was loaded in Antwerp onto the vessel *Scheersberg A*, which flew a Liberian flag of convenience. According to the manifest, the destination of the ship and its cargo was Genoa, Italy. After entering the Mediterranean, the ship continued east past Italy instead of making for its declared destination. Somewhere between Cyprus and Turkey, it rendezvoused with an Israeli freighter chartered by the Mossad. The cargo of some 200 tons of yellowcake uranium in 560 oil drums was smuggled onto the Israeli freighter; the drums were labeled *Plumbat*, which means "Lead." The *Scheersberg A* then simply disappeared for a couple of days. When the freighter reappeared in the port of Iskenderun, Turkey, its cargo was missing. The West German government may have been involved directly but remained undercover to avoid antagonizing the Soviets or the Arabs. Israeli intelligence information of the Nazi past of some West German officials may have provided the motivation.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT. *See* CENTER FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH; INFORMATION SERVICE.

POLLARD, JONATHAN JAY (1954–). An American Jew, born in Galveston, Texas, Pollard was former civilian intelligence analyst working for the Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS) in the Naval Antiterrorist Alert Center in Washington, D.C., who was convicted of spying for Israel.

In 1984 Colonel **Aviam Sella** of the Israel Air Force (IAF) was on sabbatical leave in New York City studying computers. In April of that year, Sella met Pollard at a party in the apartment of a wealthy Jewish gynecologist on the Upper East Side of Manhattan. From a brief, polite conversation between the two, Sella learned of Pollard's profession. He also got the impression that Pollard was a committed Zionist. Sella was astonished to hear of the many instances in which the U.S. intelligence community did not cooperate with its Israeli counterpart.

For a while, Sella suspected that Pollard might be involved in a sting operation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) trying to recruit an Israeli, but he subsequently concluded that Pollard was telling him the truth. Sella phoned the head of the IAF intelligence branch in Tel Aviv. The latter consulted with the IAF commander, and Sella was instructed to go ahead in fostering his contacts with Pollard. Sella and Pollard held their meetings in New York at various locations. At each meeting, Pollard handed Sella an envelope containing documents photocopied from his office. Pollard's first deliveries were meant to convince Sella that he was trustworthy. Sella couriered the documents to Israel.

Pollard also visited Yossi Yagur in the Israeli consulate in New York. Formally, Yagur was the Israeli scientific attaché, but actually he headed the U.S. station of Israel's **Bureau of Scientific Liaison** (LAKAM). Sella invited Yagur to dinner with Pollard. On this occasion, Pollard related many instances in which the United States denied Israel information essential to defend itself against Arab terrorists. The reason for this denial, he said, was that the United States did not want to upset Arab oil-producing countries. Using the consulate's secure phone, Yagur at once called his superior in Tel Aviv, **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan**.

For the next three months, Sella cultivated Pollard. He invited him to expensive restaurants and to Broadway shows and continued to courier documents given to him by Pollard to Tel Aviv. Eitan decided to meet the source himself. In November 1984 Sella and Yagur paid for a first-class flight for Pollard and his future wife Anne Anderson to Paris. There Eitan and Pollard concluded the details of how the latter would be operated. Yagur was assigned to be Pollard's handler. Pollard was instructed to deliver documents for copying to Irit Erb, a secretary at the Israeli embassy in Washington, at her rented apartment. A high-speed copier was installed in the apartment. Pollard was instructed to hand documents to Yagur as well, in a series of prearranged drops at car washes in Washington. While Pollard's car was being washed, Yagur would photocopy the documents with a battery-operated copier installed beneath the dashboard of his car. Erb's apartment and the car washes were close to Washington's National Airport, making it easier for Yagur to move quickly between New York and Washington. From his office in the New York consulate, Yagur faxed the documents to Tel Aviv, using a secure line.

Why Pollard betrayed his country became clearer later. After Sella and Yagur became convinced that Pollard was not bait in an American trap, they got the impression that his motives combined support for Israel and dissatisfaction with his superiors, who did not sufficiently appreciate him, as Pollard saw it. Later it became clear to Sella that economic motivation was of the utmost importance to Pollard: he was after a great deal of money—thousands of dollars a month. Eventually his recruiters would have to cool his ardor, telling him to tone down his behavior so as not to make his sudden wealth so obvious.

In their initial arrangement, Sella gave Pollard $2,000, supposedly from his private account; thereafter he was paid $1,500 for every packet of documents he delivered monthly to Yagur. He soon proved himself an industrious, wholesale supplier of classified documents who earned his wages. His pay was raised to $2,500 a month, with a matching sum set aside as a sort of scholarship or provident fund.

Regarding the kind of information that was relevant for Israel, Pollard arrogated that decision to himself. From his position of trust

within the U.S. Navy, Pollard delivered more than 1,000 classified documents to Israel. He took documents from six restricted archives: the Central Intelligence Agency, the FBI, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and his own office. The information detailed reconnaissance of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) headquarters in Tunis, including a description of all the buildings there, the Libyan air defense system, and the movement of U.S., Soviet, and French ships in the Mediterranean. This information enabled the IAF to evade detection and bomb these headquarters on 1 October 1985. Pollard likewise provided information on the Iraqi and Syrian chemical-warfare production capabilities, including detailed satellite pictures and maps showing the location of factories and storage facilities. Regular U.S. intelligence assessments of operations planned by a PLO unit were handed over, according to an American account that was confirmed in Israel. He provided information on Soviet arms shipments to Syria and other Arab states, including the specifics on the SS-21 ground-to-ground and SA-5 antiaircraft missiles. Whenever U.S. intelligence discovered that a Soviet ship was passing through the Bosporus into the Mediterranean, Pollard passed that information to his Israeli handlers. He provided the U.S. intelligence community's assessment of a particular Soviet-made fighter, and furnished details of Pakistan's atomic bomb program, including large satellite photographs of its nuclear facility outside Islamabad.

In sum, Pollard gave Israel the choicest of U.S. intelligence about Arab and Islamic conventional and unconventional military activity, from Morocco to Pakistan. "Friendly" and "unfriendly" Arab countries were included. Pollard even delivered documents with the names of more than 150 U.S. agents in the Middle East, who were eventually "turned" into agents for Israel. Pollard stole and transferred to his Israeli handlers documents relating to the U.S. nuclear deterrent relative to the Soviet Union. According to unconfirmed sources, Israel then traded those stolen nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union in exchange for increased emigration quotas from the Soviet Union to Israel. He even delivered to Israel information on a South African nuclear device that was detonated

on 22 September 1979 in the Indian Ocean. Pollard delivered to his Israeli handlers not only the information of what the United States knew but also how it obtained the information.

Within a short period, Eitan in Tel Aviv received so much information that it exceeded even his wildest expectations. Even after Pollard was asked by his Israeli handlers to stop delivering so many documents, he continued to do it on his own initiative purely for the money. There were rumors, apparently well founded, that Pollard was to be moved to a job in the White House. If he were caught stealing documents from the White House and delivering them to Israel, the damage to relations between the two countries would be far more serious.

In 1985 Pollard's superiors at the Naval Antiterrorist Alert Center grew suspicious of his behavior at work. Stacks of classified documents unrelated to his job were repeatedly found in his office. The FBI was called in to investigate, and its agents arrested Pollard in November of that year. Any hopes of keeping the scandal secret were dashed when Pollard attempted to escape arrest by requesting asylum at the Israeli embassy. When he arrived at the embassy gate, no one inside had any knowledge of the identity of the driver of the red Mustang that sped in, with his wife, directly in the wake of a blue Caprice driven by an Israeli diplomat, Elyakim Rubinstein. The latter had been sent by Defense Minister Moshe Arens to the United States for talks and had no idea of what was taking place at the embassy gate. An administrative officer was summoned to prevent entry into the embassy parking lot of the unknown vehicle; he might have been a car bomber intending to attack. Thus Pollard was apprehended by the FBI. Paradoxically, no one in the Israeli high echelons regretted Pollard's arrest; some even sensed a kind of relief.

At his trial, on 4 June 1986 Pollard pleaded guilty to espionage. In 1987 he was sentenced to life imprisonment, a sentence he is still serving. The Pollard affair caused considerable damage to relations between Israel and the United States. Pollard's wife, Anne, was also sentenced to five years in prison.

POLLARD AFFAIR. *See* POLLARD, JONATHAN JAY.

– Q –

QUESHET. *See* MOSSAD.

– R –

RAPHAEL, SYLVIA (1937–2005). Raphael was born in Pretoria, South Africa, to a non-Jewish mother and Jewish father, who, although from an orthodox family, did not educate Sylvia in the Jewish manner; formally she was non-Jewish. Yet despite her Christian upbringing, Sylvia always felt Jewish, and in 1963 she went to Israel as a volunteer at Kibbutz Ramat-Hakovesh near Jerusalem. Soon she was recruited to the **Mossad** for an espionage mission. Her motive was her predilection for action rather than idealism.

After building her cover story by living in Canada for a year as a press photographer under the assumed name of Patricia Roxborough, she began her espionage work. Almost all her spying activities remain a mystery. Nevertheless, it is known that Raphael spied successfully in many Arab countries, including Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and especially Egypt, were she operated excellently on the eve of the 1967 **Six-Day War** and through to the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. During the Six-Day War, she was living in Cairo, where she heard and saw Israel Air Force combat aircraft flying overhead; she reportedly could hardly conceal her joyful feelings.

Raphael took part in many of the Mossad's top clandestine operations. The most notorious was the **Lillehammer Affair** in Norway in which an innocent Moroccan waiter was mistakenly identified and killed as the Palestinian terrorist **Ali Hassan Salameh** for the latter's part in the 1972 **Munich massacre**. This was probably the first murder in many years in this peaceful resort, which made it relatively easy for the Norwegian police to trace the killers. Raphael together with other members of the Mossad's hit team were arrested. Even when her connection to the Mossad was discovered, she still presented herself as Canadian Patricia Roxborough. The linguistic expert who interrogated Raphael was convinced by her accent that she was an authentic Canadian. This affair put an end to her legendary career as a Mossad officer, since she was exposed under her assumed name.

Raphael was sentenced to five years in prison, but she was released after 11 months for health reasons and deported to Israel. She then married the Norwegian lawyer who had represented her during her trial. For that reason she was allowed to return to Norway, but she lived under heavy protection from Palestinian terrorists, who vowed revenge. After numerous attempts on her life, the couple moved to Pretoria. She died of leukemia at the age of 67.

RASHASH. See ASHRAF, MARWAN.

REDFA, MUNIR. *See* STEALING THE MIG-21.

REKHESH. *See* INFORMATION SERVICE.

REPRISALS. In 1953, Unit 101, consisting of 40 highly trained special troops, was established in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) under Major Ariel Sharon. Its purpose was to operate across Israel's borders against the home bases of Arab infiltrators. Between August 1953 and January 1954, Unit 101 conducted many reprisal raids, predominantly into Egypt and Jordan, many of them against civilian targets. In January 1954, the unit was united with the paratroopers to form 890 Paratroop Battalion.

At 9:30 P.M. on the night of 14 October 1953, IDF troops retaliated against the Jordanian border village of Kibya, northwest of Jerusalem. Using mortars, machine guns, rifles, and explosives they blew up 42 houses. Many civilians were killed during this reprisal raid.

Following condemnation of the Kibya operation by the international community, **Military Intelligence** (MI) was asked to assess the contribution, or its opposite, of such a military reprisal. One basic Israeli position was that neighboring Arab countries were held directly responsible for **terrorist** infiltration into Israel. Second, it was believed that a reprisals policy would force the Arab countries to contain terrorism emanating from their territories. Throughout the existence of that phase of the reprisals policy, MI did not research its implications for Egypt, or attempt to find out if Egypt, for instance, was able to prevent infiltration of terrorists into Israel from its side of the border.

Regarding Jordan, MI traced how far the reprisals policy encouraged the Arab Legion to halt terrorism initiated from the kingdom.

The conclusion was that the legion's efforts were negligible. In the case of Egypt, in 1955 MI assessed that because of the Israeli reprisals the Egyptian authorities were promoting infiltrators into Israel, who instead of being known merely as "border-crossers" were accorded a new title, *fedayeen*. This term denotes something more heroic, and Egypt set up a battalion of fedayeen.

The reprisals policy was a point of controversy between Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, who maintained that a substantial change had occurred in Egyptian policy toward allowing more terrorist infiltration into Israel, and Chief of the General Staff Lieutenant General Moshe Dayan, who held that no change had occurred in Egyptian behavior. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion judged between the two assessments and adopted the DMI's position. However, MI did not dispute the necessity of military reprisals. It simply emphasized the need for thorough study of the fedayeen: who exactly they were, how they worked, seasonal patterns in their infiltration, and a comparison with infiltration from Jordan to reach some conclusions on the best means to contain it. For this purpose, MI made use of the so-called village files—the targets for reprisals. These files, prepared by the legendary intelligence officer **Gideon Mahanaimi**, contained detailed information on every Jordanian village, including air reconnaissance photographs taken frequently from Piper aircraft. Mahanaimi updated the files constantly. Other information included in the files was obtained from interrogations of Palestinian Arabs detained after illegally infiltrating into Israel. The files were updated at short notice just prior to any reprisal operation. In addition, eavesdropping units were usually located on a hill close to the area where the reprisal was carried out; they informed the combat troops of the arrival of Jordanian reinforcements.

The reprisals policy did not greatly contribute to stopping infiltration into Israel for hostile purposes, and thus infiltration and retaliation became a matter of routine. The only advantage was that reprisal raids augmented the training and fighting experience of Israeli combat troops. The reprisals policy also gave the IDF an opportunity to practice the combined operation of combat troops and intelligence as well other support units.

RESEARCH 2. *See* HEKER 2.

RIKA, ELIAHU (1930–). Born in Damascus, Rika immigrated to Palestine in 1944 and volunteered to serve in the Arab Platoon of the Palmah militia underground. After the establishment of the State of Israel, Rika joined the Israeli Navy as an intelligence officer. From 1950 to 1964 he served in the Mossad in risky missions to Arab countries.

RONEL, EPHRAIM. *See* MISGERET.

ROOSTER OPERATION. The **War of Attrition** raged along the Suez Canal from the end of the **Six-Day War** in June 1967 until a cease-fire agreement in August 1970. The Egyptian military effort was supported by Soviet shipments of military materiel, which was of great interest to **Military Intelligence** (MI). The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) had used equipment captured during the Six-Day War for a better understanding of weapons specifications and capabilities.

During the War of Attrition, newer radar equipment that was supplied by the Soviet Union to Egypt posed a new kind of threat to the Israel Air Force (IAF). In an effort to learn how to deal with this new threat, IAF reconnaissance missions were quickly launched to photograph the new Egyptian air defense system. They revealed that the new Soviet radar was deployed on the beach of Ras al-Arab on Green Island. The immediate reaction was to destroy the new radar station with an aerial strike, but the attacking aircraft were stopped shortly before takeoff when the idea arose of capturing the entire installation—plucking it from its base and bringing it intact back to Israel.

Nicknamed "Rooster-53," the operation was planned in just a few days, beginning on 24 December 1969. With the approval of the IDF chain of command, the operation's details and mechanics were soon ironed out, and the forces involved began their training by lifting radar installations captured during the Six-Day War. The helicopters selected to carry the radar station to Israeli territory were of the new Sikorsky CH-53 Yasur design, which had arrived in Israel only shortly before. These were the only helicopters deemed capable of carrying the entire radar station, estimated to weigh seven tons.

The operation was launched at 9:00 P.M. on 26 December 1969. A-4 Skyhawks and F-4 Phantoms began attacking Egyptian forces along the west bank of the Suez Canal and Red Sea. Muffled by the noise of the attacking jets, three Aérospatiale Super Frélons, carrying

Israeli paratroopers, made their way west toward their target. Making their approach carefully in order not to be spotted beforehand, the troops surprised the light security contingent at the radar installation and quickly took control of the site. By 2:00 A.M. on 27 December, the paratroopers had dismantled the radar station and prepared the various parts for the CH-53s, and the two Yasurs were called in from across the Red Sea. One CH-53 carried the communications caravan and the radar antenna, while the other took the heavier, four-ton radar itself. The two helicopters started making their way back across the Red Sea to Israeli-controlled territory.

The four-ton radar caravan was actually heavier than the weight the CH-53 was designed to carry, and soon the safe completion of the operation was imperiled. The cables connecting the radar to the helicopter were stretching the ribs of the aircraft, which in turn caused a hydraulic line to rupture. If the captain of the helicopter did not release the radar, he was in danger of losing control of the aircraft and crashing; however, he managed to nurse the aircraft across the waterline into Israel. With the last of its hydraulic pressure remaining, the helicopter set down the radar and landed beside it. The second CH-53, which had already delivered its lighter load, was sent back to retrieve the radar from the crash-landing site. Again the heavy load almost caused the other helicopter to crash, but the radar was finally delivered to the designated point, into the hands of awaiting intelligence specialists.

Although an attempt was made to conceal the successful mission, the operation became known a week after it took place following its publication in the foreign press. The radar was studied thoroughly and provided the IAF with new countermeasures against the Egyptian air defenses, removing a threat to Israeli air superiority over the Suez Canal. It was later handed over to the United States, like other equipment captured in the past.

ROTEM AFFAIR. *See* ASSESSMENT FAILURES.

– S –

SAFADI, HAMOUD. *See* GRABLI, RAPHAEL.

SAGIE, URI (1943–). The Israeli-born Sagie was drafted into the Golani infantry brigade of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1961 as a private. Remaining in service as a career officer, he fought in the 1967 **Six-Day War** for the capture of the Golan Heights. Thereafter he served in various command positions and studied at the IDF Command and Staff College (1971–1973). In 1975 Sagie transferred to armor and became commander of an armored brigade. In June 1976 he took part as one of the commanders of the **Yehonathan Operation**. That year too he assumed command of his original Golani brigade as a colonel. Sagie took a national security course in the United States (1980) and was appointed head of the IDF Directorate of Operations in July 1983 with a promotion to major general. Next he was appointed head of the Southern Command and then commander of the Military Field Corps until 1990. In March 1991 he was made director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI). He served in this position until June 1995, when he resigned from the IDF.

In civilian life Sagie was appointed board chairman of the Mekorot Water Company. While in this position he was asked by Prime Minister **Ehud Barak** in 1999 to lead Israeli negotiations with Syria, which did not bear fruit. He has published many papers on peace prospects with Syria, the best-known appearing in October 1999 under the title "The Israeli-Syrian Dialogue: A One-Way Ticket to Peace?"

SAGUY, YEHOSHUA (1933–). During the 1967 **Six-Day War** and the **War of Attrition** (1967–1970), Saguy served as the intelligence officer of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Southern Command. During the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, he was a divisional intelligence officer. He was assistant for research to the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI) from 1974 to 1978 and deputy director of MI from 1978 to 1979. In February 1979 he was promoted to major general and appointed the ninth director of MI, replacing Major General **Shlomo Gazit**. He held this position during the 1982 Peace for Galilee Operation. Saguy retired in 1983 as a result of the findings of the **Kahan Commission** of Inquiry into the events at the refugee camps in Beirut, which recommended that he be removed as director of MI; he was replaced by Major General **Ehud Barak**. After retiring from military service, he was elected as a member of the Knesset

(1988–1992) and mayor of the town of Bat-Yam. He held the mayoralty until his appointment in 2003 as the Israeli ambassador to the Philippines. Saguy has a B.A. degree in history and international relations from Tel Aviv University.

SALAMEH, HASSAN ALI. Known by his nickname, "the Red Prince." Salameh was the son of a leader of the fighting Arab bands in the Israeli War of Independence. Salameh was a senior operations officer of Al-Fatah and member of Yasser Arafat's inner circle. In this position he oversaw the Black September Organization. Salameh masterminded the 1972 hijacking of Sabena flight 572 to Tel Aviv, killing 27 tourists at Israel's Lod airport, and allegedly the murder of Israeli athletes at the **Munich massacre** in September 1972. In 1973 he arranged the murder of the American and Saudi ambassadors in Sudan. For these reasons, he was targeted for killing by **Committee X**. An attempt to kill him was made in summer 1973 in Lillehammer, Norway, but the Mossad team mistakenly killed an innocent Moroccan waiter, Ahmed Bouchiki, after identifying him as Salameh. The result of the **Lillehammer Affair** was that the hunt for Salameh became known.

It is not known if Salameh mourned Bouchiki, but he undoubtedly was well aware of what awaited him and that he was a target for elimination. Thereafter Salameh did not move around in Europe, but this did not save him. It bought him only a few more years of life. In January 1979, when his car passed a booby-trapped vehicle in a Beirut street, he was killed when it was detonated. His relatives and members of the Palestine Liberation Organization asserted after his death that he had not been involved in **terrorism**. *See also* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

SAMUEL, EFRAIM. A Romanian-born Jew, in 1958 Samuel immigrated to Israel with his Christian wife and their two children. For two years the family lived in a kibbutz, before moving to Haifa. Samuel worked in maintenance at a laundry in the city. However, the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) had begun to keep an eye on him shortly after his arrival in Israel because of the contradiction between his ostensibly Zionist move of immigrating and the fact that he was known to be a devout Communist. Initially his insistence that he had migrated

to Israel because he felt the pull of Zionism was sufficient. But soon the ISA discovered Samuel's history prior to his Zionist awakening.

It was learned that in 1941 Samuel had joined the Romanian Communist party. In 1948 he was appointed director of the bureau of the Romanian agriculture minister. There was a wave of purges in the Romanian Communist party in 1952, including the agriculture minister's bureau; Samuel was detained and interrogated brutally. He did not return to politics after that ordeal but resumed his trade as an electrician. In 1957, in a further wave of purges, Samuel was again summoned for interrogation. This time he was given the chance to undergo brief training in the tradecraft of espionage and then to spy in Israel for the Directia de Informatii a Armatei, Romanian military intelligence. His duties would include collecting data on Israeli domestic politics, establishing a Romanian espionage network in Israel, and recruiting agents for the network. His wife was supposed to assist him, especially in the transmission of information to his Romanian handlers.

After arriving in Israel, Samuel did as he had been bidden. On the night of 22 March 1963, he was caught red-handed receiving coded information from his Romanian handlers. His wife sitting nearby was helping him decode the information. He was tried and found guilty in January 1967; the punishment was six years in prison. In May 1967 he was pardoned by the Israeli president and was deported to Romania in some kind of prisoner exchange. Many details on his espionage activity are still classified. His wife for still unknown reasons was not put on trial.

SASSON, ELIYAHU (1902–1978). Born in Damascus as Elias Sasson, he immigrated to Palestine in 1927. Sasson headed the Arab Department of the Jewish Agency (1933–1948) and visited Arab countries on numerous occasions to meet with Arab leaders. He was a member of Israeli delegation to the United Nations (1947–1948); in 1948 he also headed a special office of the Israeli Foreign Ministry in Paris for contacts with the Arabs in an attempt to explore prospects for Arab-Israeli coexistence or peace. Although Sasson was not a spymaster, from Paris he ran a fairly active military intelligence collections operation. He obtained the list of weapons, including 10,000 rifles, that Syria was endeavoring to buy in Western Europe. His source was the head of the Syrian arms purchase mission, Lieutenant

Colonel Fawzi Silalu. In October 1948, Sasson summoned to Paris **Yolande Harmer**, the Israeli spy in Egypt who had recently been released from an Egyptian prison, and asked her to continue the contacts with her Egyptian sources.

Sasson served as director of the Foreign Ministry's Middle East Department (1948–1950) and was on the Israeli delegation for cease-fire negotiations in Lausanne in 1949. He became the Israeli envoy to Turkey (1950–1952), where he served in the dual position of diplomat and intelligence officer and attempted to foster the Israeli **Periphery Doctrine** with Turkey; and then Israeli envoy and ambassador to Italy (1953–1960). Even in Rome he continued to develop Israel's relations with Turkey and met regularly with the Turkish ambassador to Rome, Fatin Zurlu. Sasson served as Israeli ambassador to Switzerland (1960–1961). After retiring from his diplomatic-intelligence career, Sasson was elected a member of the Knesset, where he served from 1965 to 1973; from 1965 to 1969 he was a member of the Israeli government.

SASSON, MOSHE (1925–). Born in Damascus, Syria, Sasson immigrated to Palestine in 1926. In 1948 he was the head of the Arab Department of the **Information Service** in Haifa. He served in the Israeli Foreign Ministry's Middle East Department from 1949 to 1952. In January 1950, a time of revolution and counterrevolution in Syria, Sasson suggested informing the pro-Western ruler of Syria, Colonel Adib al-Shishakli, of the names of antigovernment conspirators and the seditious role played by the Iraqi military mission in Damascus. The idea was to exploit the presence of dissident elements in Syria to try to rupture the united front of Arab hostility to Israel. Israeli intelligence interests focused on Iraq, which tried continuously to topple the regime in Damascus. The assessment was that the Iraqi mission in Syria was attempting to organize a counterrevolution in that country. In 1977 Sasson was appointed director of the **Center for Political Research** in the Foreign Ministry. Later he became the Israeli minister to Turkey and, from 1981 to 1988, Israeli ambassador to Egypt.

SAYANIM. The Hebrew word for local assistants; *sayan* in the singular. Local assistants refer to a pool of people who are available when needed to provide services and who will keep silent about their ac-

tivities out of loyalty to the cause. A car *sayan* running a rental agency, for instance, could help **Mossad** agents rent a car without the usual documentation. Likewise, an apartment *sayan* could find accommodations without raising suspicions, a bank *sayan* could provide money if necessary in the middle of the night, a physician *sayan* could treat a bullet wound without reporting it to the police, and so on. The sayanim do all this for either money or other incentives. According to foreign sources, local assistants operating for the Mossad around the world number in the thousands. In London alone, there are about 2,000 who are active, and another 5,000 on the list. The **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) also has local Palestinian sayanim operating in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

SAYERET MATKAL. An elite Israel Defense Forces unit, the Sayeret Matkal's main roles are counterterrorism, deep reconnaissance, and intelligence gathering. The unit is modeled on the British Special Air Service (SAS). It is best known for the **Yehonathan Operation** in 1976, in which its members rescued more than a hundred Air France passengers hijacked to Uganda by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) **terrorists**. Notable former Sayeret Matkal figures include former Israeli prime ministers **Ehud Barak** and Benjamin Netanyahu, and the latter's elder brother, Yehonathan (Yoni) Netanyahu, who commanded the Uganda operation and was killed in action.

SCHACK, HOWARDS H. A U.S.-born Jew, Schack was a businessman until the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, when he applied to the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C., and volunteered to serve Israel. Initially he did not intend to serve in the business of intelligence, but somehow he found himself engaged in it and began serving Israel from various corners in the Middle East. Most of all, his information on Iraq contributed substantially to the **Opera Operation**, the Israel Air Force raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor on 7 June 1981. Following the furor over the affair of **Jonathan Jay Pollard**, Schack decided to stop his espionage service for Israel, and he returned to his business.

SCHILLER, ZVI (1937–). Born in Romania, Schiller immigrated to Israel in 1949 and was conscripted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1955, serving in various positions as an intelligence officer.

From 1964 until 1968 Schiller served as deputy intelligence officer of the IDF Southern Command, and he became its intelligence officer in 1974. He served in senior staff positions in the Intelligence Corps from 1976 until 1978, after which he resigned from regular service in the IDF as a colonel and moved to civilian life, where he went into industry. However, in 1979 he returned to regular service and was appointed chief intelligence officer with a promotion to brigadier general. He served in this position until 1981.

SCHNAFT, ULRICH (1923–?). According to a recent Hebrew book by Melman and Haber, *The Spies: Israel's Counterespionage Wars*, Ulrich Schnaft, a gentile German born in Königsburg, Germany, was recruited in 1941 to the Nazi SS. At the end of World War II he was captured by American troops in Italy and was soon released after his U.S. interrogators were convinced that he was just a soldier. He returned to Munich where conditions, especially the economy, were appalling. Schnaft found out that the situation of the Jews who had survived and been released from the concentration camps was much better. The Joint and other volunteer groups did their best to assist the Jews with food, clothing, and shelter. Schnaft was somehow able to pass himself off as a Jew under the assumed name Gavriel Weissman. He managed to obtain economic aid. He heard that groups of Jews planned to emigrate to Palestine, and on 1 November 1947 he joined a group of illegal immigrants attempting to get into Palestine. The immigration was organized by **Ha'Mossad Le'Aliyah Beth**. En route to Palestine the ship they were traveling on was detected by the British, and all the passengers were deported to camps in Cyprus. After the establishment of the state of Israel in May 1948 and the release of the Cyprus detainees, Schnaft sailed to Israel where he was conscripted to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Experienced in military techniques, he soon rose to the rank of captain; however, when he got drunk he would talk about his Nazi past. His commanders decided not to extend his commission.

Being unemployed and then hearing about the "economic miracle" in West Germany, Schnaft resolved to return there; however, with an Israeli passport this was impossible. During the 1950s every Israeli passport was stamped "excluding visiting Arab countries and Germany." In February 1954 Schnaft sailed to Genoa, with just 20 dollars in his pocket. Unable to return to his native country, he decided to approach

the Egyptian consulate in Genoa. He told the Egyptians everything about his past as a SS soldier and an IDF officer hoping that the information on Israel would be considered an asset. He handed the Egyptians his Israeli passport and received an Egyptian passport in the name of Robert Hayat. He traveled to Egypt, where he was interrogated and suspected of being an Israeli mole. He was advised to return to Israel to try to enlist in the IDF again and become a "sleeper"—a proposal he declined. He was uninterested in returning to Israel but wanted a once-only deal: information in return for money and help returning to Germany. Eventually the Egyptians agreed to assist him, hoping that he would at some time spy on Israel. He was given some money and an Egyptian *laissez-passer* allowing him a single entry into Germany.

In August 1955, after Schnaft had lived six months in Germany, the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) became aware of his earlier activities. Though it was realized that he had not caused substantial security damage, it was decided to bring him to trial in Israel. An ISA case officer, Iraqi-born Jew Shmuel Moria, with the assistance of the ISA documentation department, obtained an Iraqi officer's identity card prepared by means of photo-montage; it was in the name of a "Captain Adnan." He arrived in Germany and contrived to encounter Schnaft. One day the disguised Israeli agent invited his quarry to lunch at a Berlin restaurant. After the meal "Captain Adnan" took out his wallet to pay for the meal. Suddenly, as if by accident, his Iraqi officer's identity card fell to the floor. Schanft, in an automatic gesture, picked it up and discerned that his host was an Iraqi officer. "Captain Adnan" admitted that it was true, which seemed to make his disguise more authentic. He then suggested that Schnaft work for the Iraqis as a spy in Israel. Schnaft, at ease now in the company of this "Iraqi officer," thereupon cursed the Jews and Israel. He even told the truth about his past in Nazi Germany and Israel, but he added that he was afraid to return to Israel as a spy. He told "Adnan" that Israel had an excellent intelligence network and that he would soon be detected. Moria succeeded in convincing Schnaft that Iraqi intelligence is even better and that Iraqi intelligence just needs some information on the economic situation in Israel, so Schanft would not be placed in danger. In the end Schnaft agreed. His flight to Israel was paid for. On arrival he was arrested. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to seven years in prison. He was released in 1961 after serving five years of his sentence.

SCHUMACHER, YOSSELE (1953–). In 1960, Schumacher, an Israeli Jewish boy, was without his parents in his grandparents' apartment in Jerusalem, when he was kidnapped by men associated with the boy's maternal grandfather, Nahman Shtarkes. All of them were members of the ultraorthodox Jewish sect Neturei Karta, which opposed Zionism and the State of Israel. The grandfather feared that Yossele's parents would raise him in a secular way, while he wanted to give the child a strictly Jewish religious and anti-Zionist education.

The grandfather was the main suspect and was detained for a police investigation. However, the investigation produced nothing. Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion was concerned that the kidnapping of Schumacher might have a negative impact on relations between secular and religious Jews and on the rule of law in Israel. He also thought that he might lose the upcoming 1961 elections if he did not resolve the problem of the kidnapping.

Ben-Gurion assigned the mission of finding Yossele Schumacher to the **Mossad**. Its director, **Isser Harel**, did not believe that this was an appropriate mission for the national intelligence organization, which should engage primarily in national security. Still, in February 1962, after reading the file and being convinced of its importance, Harel allocated huge resources in manpower and money to finding the boy. Forty Mossad agents were involved in this operation, known as the Tiger Operation. The **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) was involved as well. A very senior ISA officer, **Amos Manor**, who later became ISA director, was personally engaged in the operation. Manor grew sidelocks and curled them in the manner of the ultraorthodox Jews, hoping by this disguise to penetrate their close-knit inner circles, but he garnered little success. Another Mossad agent tried to infiltrate a Neturei Karta funeral but was found out when he failed to pray in their proper manner.

These failures made Harel even more determined to succeed with the Tiger Operation. He dispatched Mossad agents to ultraorthodox Jewish communities in Golders Green and Hendon, London; Pletzl in Paris; and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, New York. They were even sent to Orthodox Jewish communities as far away as Johannesburg, South Africa; Hong Kong; Japan; and South America. In Paris a Mossad agent conducted surveillance on an Orthodox Jewish school where it was thought that Schumacher was a pupil, but he was soon uncovered. Ten Mossad agents attending an ultraorthodox Sabbath service in a

synagogue in Hendon were at once exposed. The congregation called the police and the "religious" agents were arrested. They were released at the intervention of the Israeli ambassador in London.

Mossad agents succeeded in luring an Orthodox rabbi to Paris, "to a wealthy orthodox family that wanted him for a circumcision ceremony." At the airport Mossad agents in black coats and wearing ultraorthodox-style headgear awaited him. Instead of the purported circumcision ceremony, they took the rabbi to a Pigalle brothel. Flanked by a pair of prostitutes, paid in advance, the rabbi was photographed. He was shown the pictures, which the agents threatened to send to his congregation if he did not divulge information on Schumacher's whereabouts. In the end the rabbi's interrogators were convinced that he knew nothing and did not have a single clue to finding the boy; they destroyed the pictures. Another rabbi, Shai Freyer, was picked up by Mossad agents on a journey from Paris to Geneva. He was rigorously questioned, but here too the Mossad agents ultimately believed him when he said that he knew nothing about the case. Harel, himself one of the interrogators, ordered the rabbi to be kept in a Mossad safe house in Switzerland until the operation in search of Schumacher was completed lest he alert the entire Orthodox community.

Harel personally crisscrossed Europe for months on this mission. He worked in the field and slept on cots like his junior agents. In one instance, a Mossad agent disguised as an Orthodox Jew knocked on a door of an Orthodox Jewish family in Montreux, Switzerland. When the door was opened, he said that he was hungry and asked for some food. The woman who opened the door could hardly believe her ears, as that day happened to be a Jewish fast.

The Mossad encountered Madeleine Frei by chance as part of its general search among Orthodox Jews. She was the daughter of an aristocratic French family that in World War II had saved many Jewish children from deportation to the Nazi death camps. After the war she converted to extreme Orthodox Judaism and visited Jerusalem several times. In August 1962 she was lured to a place on the Paris outskirts by Mossad agents, who explained to her how Yossele's parents missed him. They asked her to consider the parents' moral right to raise their son as they wished. Frei insisted that she knew nothing, and almost had the agents believing her. But the ubiquitous Harel demanded to see her passport. Pasted in it was a picture of her "daughter" that was identical to a picture of Yossele Schumacher.

In short order, Harel extracted the entire story. In 1960, in a scheme planned in advance, Frei had been contacted by Yossele's grandfather and associates. She had taken a sea voyage to Israel as a tourist. On board the vessel, she met a couple immigrating to Israel with their daughter and became their friend. In the immigration line at Haifa port, Frei stood beside their girl, and the immigration officer registered her as Madeleine's daughter. In Jerusalem she was taken to the place where Schumacher was hidden. She set about persuading Yossele to wear girl's dresses; a week later she left the country with him, using fake documents in which he appeared as her daughter. For a while Schumacher lived in Switzerland. Frei's husband, a rabbi, was his teacher. Then she flew with Schumacher to New York City and handed him over to a Neturei Karta family in Brooklyn named Gertner. Yossele had been given the name Yankele Gertner.

After these facts came to light, Mossad agents flew to New York in September 1962. A team of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, authorized by Attorney General Robert Kennedy to cooperate, awaited the agents at the airport. Together they went to Gertner's apartment. While the husband was at prayer, the agents rushed into the apartment, saw the boy, and called him by his name: Yossele. The outcome was that Schumacher was at once safely returned to Israel. The entire operation had taken eight months. Nevertheless, the wide gap between the Israeli Orthodox and secular populations was not bridged.

SEIDENWERG, AVRAHAM. *See* ELAD, AVRAHAM (AVRI).

SELLA, AVIAM. Colonel Sella was an Israel Air Force (IAF) pilot. In October 1980, as the newly appointed IAF head of operations, he began planning the **Opera Operation** to bomb the Iraqi nuclear reactor at Osirak, which was carried out on 7 June 1981.

In 1984 Sella took sabbatical leave in New York City to study computers. In April that year, while attending a party in Upper Manhattan at the apartment of a wealthy Jewish physician, he was introduced to **Jonathan Jay Pollard**, a civilian intelligence analyst in the U.S. Navy's Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS) in Suitland, Maryland. Later, Sella phoned the head of IAF intelligence in Tel Aviv. Upon receiving the approval of the IAF commander, Sella started to meet Pollard in New York in an attempt to cultivate relations

with him. He invited him to cafés, to dinners, and to expensive Broadway shows. Each time, he got from Pollard a sheaf of documents that Pollard had stolen from top secret U.S. intelligence archives. Sella introduced Pollard to Yosef Yagur, the Israeli scientific attaché in the New York consulate. In the fall of 1984 Sella together with Yagur invited Pollard with his future wife Anne to Paris to meet the director of the **Bureau of Scientific Liaison**, **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan**. At the meeting, Eitan assigned Yagur as Pollard's direct handler. Sella commuted on shuttle flights between New York and Washington, D.C., many times to collect the copied documents from Pollard.

Pollard was arrested on 21 November 1985. Sella, Yagur, and the secretary in the Israeli embassy in Washington, Irit Erb, who had assisted in copying the documents stolen by Pollard, quietly slipped out of the United States. Eighteen days after the meeting, Israel announced that Sella would not be promoted to the command of the Tel Nof air force base. Returning to Israel in 1985, Sella was appointed commander of the smaller IAF base at Ramon. Following Pollard's arrest, Leonard Garment, a Brooklyn-born attorney, was hired to represent Sella. On a trip to Israel to meet with Sella and his circle, Garment was told two contrasting versions of Sella's role. The official version, favored by Sella's Israeli legal team, essentially dismissed Sella's role. On the one occasion when Garment spoke at length with his client alone, however, he received Sella's account of his extensive involvement and took notes.

In June 1986 Sella's Israeli team arrived in Washington and told Garment they wanted him to give the U.S. Justice Department their version alleging Sella's noninvolvement. Garment's proposed draft was overruled and the Israelis insisted that theirs would be the one handed to the Justice Department. Garment told the Israeli officials he would have no part in it because it was demonstrably false, and the U.S. prosecutors could prove it.

The Israeli team demanded to know how Garment could be so certain that his version of events was correct. When he read them his handwritten notes from his conversation with Sella, they heatedly demanded that he hand them over. He refused. After some physical altercation, Garment was dismissed. According to Garment, Israel tried to keep Sella's name out of the investigations because U.S. intelligence experts would know that if an officer of his senior rank was involved

in the operation it could never have taken place without high-level approval.

On 1 March 1987, a few days before Pollard was sentenced, Sella was assigned command of the Tel Nof base. This promotion was a clear contradiction of Israel's commitment to the United States that individuals involved in the Pollard case would be dealt with accordingly. The arrangement between Sella and the IAF commander was that Sella would continue to wear the insignia of a colonel, although the standard rank attached to his new post was brigadier general. It cannot be known if the arrangement meant that Sella would be paid the salary of a colonel or a brigadier general. The entry of a new air base commander is normally a day of ceremonies in the IAF to which foreign military attachés are usually invited. The U.S. military attaché did not attend. Furthermore, after learning of Sella's promotion, the U.S. administration canceled a joint American-Israeli air force training course and made Tel Nof off-limits to U.S. officers and other officials. The U.S. administration threatened to suspend its policy of military cooperation with the IAF unless Sella's appointment was rescinded.

On 3 March 1987 a U.S. federal grand jury in Washington issued an indictment against Sella, charging him with three counts of espionage. In order not to upset the United States, Sella submitted his resignation from his new position to the IAF commander Major General Amos Lapidot on 20 March.

SENIOR OFFICER, THE. *See* BAD BUSINESS.

SERENI, ADA. *See* SERENI, ENZO.

SERENI, ENZO (1905–1944). Born in Rome to a distinguished Italian Jewish family, in his teens Sereni became involved in Zionist activities; he immigrated to Palestine in 1927. After working there for a short while, he returned to Europe to organize Jewish immigration to Palestine (1931–1934). During World War II he joined the British Army and was engaged in disseminating antifascist propaganda in Egypt. Sereni was also sent by the British to Iraq, where he devoted part of his efforts to clandestine Jewish immigration organizations and succeeded in bringing a significant number of Jewish youths to

Palestine. Sereni alienated many in the British Army for his staunch Zionist views, and he was imprisoned briefly for allegedly forging passports. He launched a hunger strike to protest his imprisonment, and soon was released. Later in World War II, Sereni helped to organize a Jewish parachute unit in Palestine, run by the British Army in conjunction with the Jewish Agency. Its objective was to infiltrate enemy-occupied territory in Europe to help the Allied war effort; also, it was to establish contact with partisan fighters in an attempt to aid beleaguered Jewish communities. More than 250 volunteers trained for the unit; Sereni himself, despite his age, was one of 33 who actually were parachuted into Europe. On 15 May 1944 he was parachuted into northern Italy with the goal of establishing contact with Italian partisans. Landing in German-held terrain, he was captured immediately and sent to concentration camps. He was ultimately shot in Dachau on 18 November 1944. After his death, his widow, Ada Sereni was one of the leaders of the illegal immigration movement to Palestine.

SHABAK. *See* ISRAELI SECURITY AGENCY.

SHAHAK, AMNON. *See* LIPKIN-SHAHAK, AMNON.

SHAHAR. *See* MISTA'ARAVIM; ARAB PLATOON.

SHAHIN, IBRAHIM. A Palestinian from El-Arish, Shahin was recruited for an espionage mission against Egypt by **Military Intelligence** shortly after the Israel Defense Forces occupied the Sinai Desert in 1967. As was common for a low level agent, he was initially asked to provide ostensibly innocuous information such as details on food and transportation prices. To the satisfaction of his handlers, he was later asked to collect military intelligence. Shahin provided good information about unusually dense troop movement toward the Suez Canal. He warned the Israeli government of an impending attack by Egypt prior to the October 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. Shahin was arrested by the Egyptian authorities, tried, and hanged in Cairo in 1977.

Shahin's widow, Inshirah, was recruited by Israeli intelligence as well. She and his children were arrested. After the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, Shahin's family was released

from prison and allowed to leave the country for Israel. They became Jews by choice. Shahin's family lobbied the Egyptian government to permit his reburial in Israel. This was, according to them, Shahin's last request.

SHAI. *See* INFORMATION SERVICE.

SHALEV, ARYEH (1926–). Born Aryeh Fridlander in Poland, in Palestine Shalev joined the Haganah militia and the Jewish Settlement Police (1946). After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, he joined the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), and in the 1948–1949 War of Independence, he was a company commander in the Golani brigade and its intelligence officer. After the war he was appointed a member of the Armistice Committee. In 1953 he was made an intelligence officer of the IDF Northern Command. He was appointed assistant to the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI) for research in September 1967. In this position he became a senior figure in consolidating the Israeli national intelligence assessment of the likelihood of the Arabs starting a new war, which was largely based on the **Concept** that considered Egypt unprepared for belligerency. On 26 September 1973 Shalev reprimanded Lieutenant Colonel **Zusia Knizer** for breaching the instruction to keep **King Hussein's Warning** to Prime Minister Golda Meir and the contents of their conversation as top secret, and also Lieutenant Colonel **Aviezer (Avik) Ya'ari** for "unnecessarily" alerting the Northern Command.

For his part in the mistaken assessment on the eve of the **Yom Kippur War**, the 1974 **Agranat Commission** recommended that Shalev not continue to serve in MI. He was appointed governor of Judea and Samaria in 1974. After retiring from the IDF in 1976, he joined the **Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** as a researcher.

SHALOM, AVRAHAM (1929–). Born Avraham Bendor to parents who immigrated from Germany to Palestine in 1933, Shalom was educated in a kibbutz. At the time of the struggle for an independent State of Israel, Shalom served in the Palmah militia. In the 1948–1949 **War of Independence**, he was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). First he served in a patrol unit, but **Isser Harel**, the first director of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), soon recruited him to the ISA.

Shalom's career in the ISA spanned three and a half decades. He participated in major clandestine operations, including the joint ISA-**Mossad** operation of **Eichmann's Capture** as deputy to **Rafael (Rafi) Eitan**, the head of the operational team. During his career Shalom headed the ISA Protective Security Branch. In December 1980 he was made director of the ISA, replacing **Avraham Ahituv**. Shalom appointed **Reuven Hazak** as his deputy. Shalom was known as a hard and persistent, if somewhat colorless, worker.

At his own request, Shalom ended his term in September 1986 in the wake of the commission of inquiry that investigated the **Bus 300 Affair** in which two Palestinian **terrorists** taken into custody for hijacking an Israeli bus were murdered by ISA officers on Shalom's instructions. He as well other ISA officials were granted clemency by the president of Israel before the trial. When he ended his term, he became an independent businessman, mainly overseas, serving as a consultant to international companies.

SHALTIEL, DAVID (1903–1969). Born to an orthodox Jewish family in Hamburg, Germany, Shaltiel immigrated to Palestine in 1935 and joined the Haganah underground. He undertook various Haganah missions in Europe (1937–1939) and served as head of Haganah counterintelligence (1940–1942), commander of the Haganah in the Haifa region (1942–1943), and emissary of the Jewish Agency's Political Department to North Africa and France (1944–1945). Shaltiel headed the **Information Service** from 1946 to 1948. In the Haganah, Shaltiel was the link to the Jewish underground groups Irgun and the Stern Group and helped them coordinate many missions with the Haganah.

At the time of the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, Shaltiel held several military roles in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in the War of Independence. He was commander of the Jerusalem region (February–July 1948) and commander of the Frontier Force (1949–1950); he participated in and commanded many operations, among them the widely condemned attack at Deir Yassin. He also masterminded the Kedem Operation, whose goal was to capture East Jerusalem. The mission was carried out on 8 July 1948 and was a total failure. After the War of Independence, Shaltiel became Israel's military attaché in France (1950–1952).

Retiring from the IDF with the rank of major general, Shaltiel joined the Foreign Ministry as Israeli minister in Brazil and Mexico and later as ambassador to the Netherlands.

SHAMAI, SHAUL. An intelligence officer in **Military Intelligence**, Shamai at the beginning of the 1967 **Six-Day War** succeeded in breaking the Egyptian army code. This enabled the Israel Defense Forces to confuse the Egyptian army and air force with false orders. Israeli officers ordered an Egyptian MiG pilot to release his bombs over the sea instead of carrying out an attack on Israeli positions. When the pilot questioned the veracity of the order, the Israeli intelligence officer gave the pilot details on his wife and family. The pilot indeed dropped his bombs over the Mediterranean and parachuted to safety.

SHAMIR, YITZHAK (1915–). Born Yitzhak Jazernicki in Ruzinoy, Poland, Shamir eventually served as prime minister of Israel (1983–1984 and 1986–1992). In 1935 he moved to Palestine and subsequently joined the Irgun, a Jewish underground militia opposed to the British Mandate in Palestine. In 1940, when the Irgun split into different groups, Shamir joined Abraham Stern's radical breakaway faction, called the Stern Group. British authorities imprisoned Shamir in 1941 and executed Stern in 1942. After managing to escape from the British, Shamir became one of three leaders of the Stern Group in 1943. Under his leadership, the group carried out numerous actions, including the assassinations of Britain's state minister for the Middle East, Lord Moyne, in 1944 and the UN's Middle East representative, Count Folke Bernadotte, in 1948.

In 1955 Yitzhak Shamir was recruited to the **Mossad** by its director, **Isser Harel**, whose policy was to seek out former militia members from the prestate period who had skills in carrying out underground activities. Once in the Mossad, Shamir was appointed head of covert operations, and in that capacity he recruited his former Stern Group comrades to undertake Mossad operations.

In 1956 Shamir was stationed in Paris, where he served as a case officer under the code name Samuel Singer. In February 1963 he became a pivotal figure in the **Damocles Operation**, in which he directed a hit team in the assassination of Dr. Hans Kleinwachter, a

German electronics engineer who had worked on the Nazi V-2 rocket project during World War II. Harel himself joined Shamir and his hit team in the operation, but despite the surveillance conducted on Kleinwachter's apartment in Germany, the assassination attempt was foiled by a premature shot from one of the team members.

Shamir handled some other cases from Paris, including that of **Aharon Moshel**, an Israeli spy in Egypt. Shamir was also involved in sending threatening letters to the German scientists and their families who were working on the missile program in Egypt. After **Meir Amit** became director of the Mossad in 1963, Shamir still displayed loyalty to his former boss Harel. Shamir's career in the Mossad ended in 1965.

In 1973 Yitzhak Shamir was elected as a member of the Knesset, and in 1977 he became its chairman. He presided over the 1977 visit of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and the ensuing peace talks, despite his reputation as a Likud hard-liner. Shamir became the Israeli foreign minister in 1980 and led the negotiations with Egypt to normalize relations in 1981–1982. He also headed the negotiations resulting in the 1983 peace agreement with Lebanon, although the Lebanese government never ratified it.

Shamir succeeded Menachem Begin as prime minister in September 1983, and during his term the government took part in the Madrid peace conference. Also under his leadership as prime minister, the Mossad successfully carried out the **Solomon Operation**, secretly transporting thousands of Ethiopian Jews to Israel. Shamir's government fell in 1992, and he relinquished the Likud party leadership in March 1993 to Benjamin Netanyahu.

Probably due to having been a Mossad officer in the past, as prime minister, Shamir insisted on talking directly to the Mossad's intelligence sources, rather than just receiving the final assessment reports. Shamir wanted early warning from the Israeli intelligence community on the likelihood of war breaking out, rather than assessments of the prospects for peace, which he used to tell intelligence analysts that he could figure out by himself.

SHARETT, MOSHE (1894–1965). Born Moshe Shertok in the Ukraine, Sharett immigrated to Palestine as a member of **Bilu**. In 1931, Haim Arlozorov, director of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, asked Sharett to serve as his assistant. After Arlozorov was murdered in

1933, Sharett was elected to replace him. As head of the Political Department, Sharett conducted negotiations with the British authorities.

Among Sharett's greatest accomplishments was the encouraging of volunteers to join the British Army during World War II, which resulted in the establishment of the Fighting Jewish Brigade. During the war, Sharett coordinated the secret cooperation between the Jewish settlements and the British Army. Within this framework, Haganah soldiers carried out secret military actions, including dropping parachutists into Occupied Europe. After the war, when the struggle between the Yishuv and the British rulers escalated, the British searched for weapons and carried out mass arrests. On 29 June 1946, known as Black Saturday, Sharett was the most senior among those arrested (*see* TERRORISM).

After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Sharett was appointed foreign minister. He was appointed prime minister on 26 January 1954, following the resignation of David Ben-Gurion at the end of 1953; Sharett also continued to serve as minister of foreign affairs. The **Military Intelligence** failure known as the **Bad Business** in July 1954, which had been carried out without the knowledge of Sharett, led to the dismissal of Minister of Defense **Pinhas Lavon** and the return of Ben-Gurion to the ministry of defense. However, there was a growing rift on various political-security matters between Prime Minister Sharett, who supported a policy of restraint, and Minister of Defense Ben-Gurion. This rift paved the way for Sharett's resignation from the prime ministry, though he continued to serve as minister of foreign affairs. In 1955, Ben-Gurion was reelected prime minister.

The nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser enabled military cooperation between France, Great Britain, and Israel against Egypt. Fearing that Sharett would object, Ben-Gurion decided to force Sharett to resign as minister of foreign affairs. Sharett resigned on 18 June 1956, when he realized that his party would back Ben-Gurion. In October 1956, with the launch of the **Sinai Campaign**, Sharett concluded that his path back to the political arena was blocked. In 1957, he assumed the role of director of Am Oved, the country's largest publisher, and in 1961 he was appointed as chairman of the Jewish Agency.

SHAVIT, SHABTAI (1943–). Shavit served for more than 32 years in a variety of positions in the **Mossad** before being appointed its di-

rector in 1989. He holds a bachelor's degree in Middle East Studies from Hebrew University and a master of public administration from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Public Policy. In the Israel Defense Forces, Shavit served in the elite **Sayeret Matkal** unit. After resigning from the Mossad directorship in 1996, Shavit has held a variety of positions; the most recent is chairman of the board of the **International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism** at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya.

SHEBA OPERATION. *See* MOSES OPERATION.

SHEMER, DAN. *See* KASTNER, ISRAEL.

SHILOAH, REUVEN (1909–1959). Born Reuven Zaslanski in Jerusalem to an orthodox Jewish family, he changed his name to Reuven Zaslany when the British authorities sought him for his activities in the Haganah underground organization. After the establishment of the State of Israel, he adopted his code name in the Haganah, Shiloah.

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, Shiloah, who spoke Arabic, was involved from a young age in numerous covert actions, frequently in Arab countries disguised as an Arab. In 1931, before reaching his 22nd birthday, Shiloah was posted by the Jewish Agency to Baghdad for secret missions. His cover job in Iraq was as a schoolteacher and part-time journalist. Under the latter cover, Shiloah took many trips around Iraq. During his mission, he succeeded in setting up a network of information services. In 1934 Shiloah returned to Jerusalem and joined the Haganah and was assigned to set up its intelligence services. Together with **Shaul Avigur**, he established the **Information Service**. His next job was as liaison officer between the Jewish Agency and the British authorities in Palestine.

During World War II, Shiloah recruited 26 Jewish paratroops for British intelligence for missions behind the German lines in the Balkans. He made the first contacts between the Jewish Agency and the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, thereby laying the foundations for relations between the Israeli intelligence community and Central Intelligence Agency after the war. As an expert on Middle Eastern affairs, Shiloah concentrated mainly on foreign political matters, for example, efforts to form alliances with non-Arab Islamic states such as Turkey and salvaging Jewish assets and transferring them to Israel.

Shiloah was a confidant of Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion. In July 1949 Shiloah counseled the prime minister to establish a central institution for organizing and coordinating intelligence and security services. That institution is now known as the **Mossad**. Ben-Gurion appointed Shiloah as the first director of the Mossad, a position he held from 13 December 1949 to 20 September 1952, when he was injured in a traffic accident. The real reason for his resignation was due to a collapse of an Israeli espionage network in Iraq in September 1952. Shiloah's friends and rivals alike believed that he had never been suited to the task of Mossad director, describing him as a man of vision rather than an organizer of clandestine operations. Shiloah was replaced by **Isser Harel**.

Despite his short career as director of the Mossad, Shiloah is recognized as the man who laid the foundations of the Israeli intelligence community. He likewise initiated the links between Israeli intelligence and its Western counterparts, especially in the United States. In 1959 the Israeli Oriental Society established the Reuven Shiloah Institute for the study of the Middle East; the institute was incorporated into Tel Aviv University in 1965. In 1983 this university established the **Moshe Dayan Center for the Middle East**, which combined the Shiloah Institute and documentation units dealing with the Middle East.

SHILOAH INSTITUTE. *See* MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR THE MIDDLE EAST; SHILOAH, REUVEN.

SHIMONI, YA'ACOV (1915–?). Born in Berlin, Shimoni immigrated to Palestine in 1935. He pursued Middle Eastern studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In the 1941 he joined the **Information Service**. He moved to the Arab wing of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in 1945. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he joined the Foreign Ministry and became a senior diplomat.

SHIN BET. *See* ISRAELI SECURITY AGENCY (ISA).

SHKAKI, FATHI. On 22 January 1995 two Palestinian suicide bombings at the Bet-Lid junction near Netanya killed 21 Israelis. The Islamic Jihad took responsibility for this terrorist attack. On 25 October 1995 the leader of the Islamic Jihad, Dr. Fathi Shkaki, was shot and killed in Malta, allegedly by the **Mossad**.

SIMAN-TOV, BINYAMIN (1947–). Born in Iraq, Siman-Tov immigrated to Israel in 1950. He was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1968 and served in various intelligence tasks. On 1 October 1973, a few days before the **Yom Kippur War**, Lieutenant Siman-Tov, a junior intelligence officer in the IDF Southern Command, sent a document he had prepared to Lieutenant Colonel **David Gedaliah**, chief intelligence officer of Southern Command, in which he noted that the huge Egyptian deployments and exercises along the western bank of the Suez Canal seemed to be camouflage for a real canal-crossing assault. This assessment was ignored, so on 3 October he sent another, entitled "Situation Report on the Egyptian Army: 13 September–2 October 1973." This was likewise set aside by his superior. Siman-Tov, being very junior in the IDF hierarchy, was to have no influence on the upper-level intelligence assessments of Egyptian intentions.

After the war, when the **Agranat Commission** published its partial report in 1974, the director of Military Intelligence (DMI), Major General **Shlomo Gazit**, promoted Siman-Tov to the rank of captain and instituted the **Siman-Tov Procedure** to allow junior analysts with dissenting opinions to be heard. Siman-Tov retired from the IDF as a lieutenant colonel in 1987. In 1995 DMI **Uri Sagie** awarded Siman-Tov a prize for "creative thinking" in his contribution to IDF intelligence. *See also* CONCEPT.

SIMAN-TOV PROCEDURE. On the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, senior military intelligence officers disregarded warnings submitted by a junior intelligence officer, Lieutenant **Binyamin Siman-Tov**, that the huge Egyptian deployments and exercises along the Suez Canal seemed to be camouflage for a real canal-crossing assault. In fact, the young officer's assessment proved right. Accordingly, Director of Military Intelligence (DMI) Major General **Shlomo Gazit** (1974–1978) initiated a procedure whereby every Israeli army officer who holds a view different from the prevailing wisdom would be allowed to express it freely, even bypassing his or her direct commander, even going directly to the DMI. Normally no soldier or officer is allowed to bypass his immediate commanders. This innovation became known as the Siman-Tov Procedure.

SINAI CAMPAIGN (1956). Also known in Hebrew as Mivtza Kadesh (Kadesh Operation). In September 1955, in violation of international

agreements and in what amounted to an act of war, Egypt sealed off maritime access to the Israeli port of Eilat, effectively stopping Israel's sea trade with much of Africa and the Far East. Then, on 26 July 1956 Gamal Abdel Nasser announced Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, most of whose shares were held by Britain and France. With diplomacy failing to reverse Nasser's decision, Britain and France embarked on preparations to regain control of the canal, and on 29 October 1956, together with Israel, they launched a military operation in the Sinai Peninsula. Four and a half months later, on 16 March 1957, Israel withdrew its troops from Sinai and the Gaza Strip after receiving international assurances that its vital waterways would remain open. Israeli forces were replaced by 3,300 United Nations troops. Despite Israel's withdrawal, the Egyptians refused to open the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping.

Israel's **Military Intelligence** (MI) had a key role in planning the Sinai Campaign. In an agreement between the French and Israeli governments on a "joint venture," MI was represented by its director, Major General **Yehoshafat Harkabi**. The preparations for the military campaign led to fruitful relations between the French and Israeli intelligence communities, one of the side effects of the Sinai Campaign. Before the campaign, the MI stance was to favor war against Egypt as a preventive or at least delaying measure against the forthcoming adoption by Egypt of modern Soviet weapons through a transaction known as the "Czechoslovak agreement." MI assessed that a strike against Egypt, together with the French and the British armies, would result in quiet along the Israel border with that country; in the mid-1950s Israel suffered greatly from infiltration of *fedayeen* terrorists. MI even surmised that the war might lead to the toppling of Nasser's regime.

In the summer and fall of 1956, MI was required to plan its part in the war. All MI sections participated: the collection, research, combat, and field security departments. MI was required to plan a campaign that would mislead Egypt into believing that Israel's planned war target was not Egypt but Jordan. This impression was to be created through the war preparations that were hard to conceal. In the last week of October 1956, MI planted information in the Israeli press that the Iraqi army had entered Jordan. It was assumed worldwide that Israel considered the reinforcement of the Jordanian side of

the border by the Iraqi Army to be a casus belli. Countries as a whole across the world, like many Israelis who read newspaper headlines, were convinced that a war against Jordan was in the making. This deception succeeded better than the rosiest anticipation. Even in the Israel Defense Forces, the mobilization of the reserves was explained as preparation for war against Jordan.

On 29 October President Dwight D. Eisenhower conveyed to Israel a message stating that, based on U.S. intelligence, the Iraqi army had not entered Jordan. Although in Israel it was considered necessary to conceal the real war target even from the U.S. president, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in his reply underlined aggressive Egyptian trends. By and large, the deception held until the very moment of the drop of the first Israeli paratroopers into the Mitla Pass in the Sinai Desert on the evening of 20 October 1956.

On the eve of the Sinai Campaign the Israel Air Force (IAF) was tasked to perform two missions related to intelligence. One was to disrupt Egyptian army communications by severing telephone and telegraph lines by means of low-flying aircraft. This daring action made it hard for Egyptian headquarters to maintain command and control of its army units; it also contributed to eavesdropping on transmissions of conversations among Egyptian commanders. In addition, before the launching of the war, the IAF supported imagery intelligence (IMINT) by photographing the prospective theater. Due to this photography, the paratroopers' drop site was changed. Originally it had been planned for the western entrance to the Mitla Pass, but photographs taken on 6 October revealed the presence of 16 small huts there, and on the very eve of the drop, air reconnaissance revealed 26 tents and several vehicles. The significance of these discoveries aroused debate in the MI Egyptian desk: was a substantial Egyptian military force in place there, or were they merely civilians? To avoid unnecessary risk, the decision was made to drop one paratroop battalion near the eastern entrance to the Mitla Pass.

MI research fulfilled its task in assessing that an Egyptian declaration of an intention to send reinforcements to Sharm al-Sheikh was without foundation, so the Israeli decision to dispatch Brigade 6 there remained as planned. MI research also correctly estimated that the aftermath of victory in the Sinai Campaign would be quiet along the Israeli-Egyptian border. Finally, the manner in which MI

accomplished its tasks on the eve of and during the Sinai Campaign fostered greater expenditure on MI and the allocation of additional budgets for intelligence collection and research.

SITTA, KURT (1910–?). Born in the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia to a non-Jewish German family, Sitta studied in Prague and soon emerged as a genius in mathematics and physics. During World War II he was interned in the Buchenwald concentration camp by the Gestapo because of his Jewish wife. At Buchenwald Sitta met Communist inmates who after the war became senior officials in Czechoslovakian intelligence. They recruited Sitta as a sleeper agent.

After the war, Sitta studied and worked at the universities of Edinburgh and Manchester in Great Britain (1946–1948) and then was appointed professor at Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York. However, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reached the conclusion that Sitta was a Communist. After being interrogated by the FBI, Sitta moved to Brazil. In 1953 he was invited to lecture at the Technion—Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa—where he was appointed to chair the faculty of physics. His academic success soon became known to Czechoslovakian intelligence, which regarded this as an excellent opportunity for moving him from the sleeping mode to active spying against Israel.

In this capacity Sitta showed deep and special interest in nuclear physics, especially the work of Professor David Ernst Bergman, among the founders of the Israeli **nuclear weapons program**. Between 1955 and 1960 Sitta frequently met the Czechoslovakian intelligence officer at the Czech embassy in Tel Aviv. However, the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) was well aware of their frequent meetings, and on the night of 16 June 1960 ISA agents arrested Sitta at his villa in Haifa. This was two days before the Israeli experimental nuclear reactor in Nahal Soreq was to become operational. On 7 February 1961 Sitta was convicted of espionage and imprisoned for five years. The maximum penalty for the charge in question was life imprisonment. Kurt Sitta died in the early 1990s.

SIX-DAY WAR (1967). The situation that developed into the Six-Day War of June 1967 came as a complete surprise to Israeli intelligence. The establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964 had increased tensions in the region, with Arab cross-border in-

filtration and **terrorist** attacks on Israelis. The capture and hanging of **Eli Cohen** in Damascus in 1965 only fueled the flames. Arab attacks caused Israeli retaliation. Tensions rose especially high in the spring of 1967, when Syrian artillery shelled the Israeli settlement of Tel-Katzir, below the Golan Heights. On 7 April the Israel Air Force (IAF) sent planes to destroy the Syrian guns; Syrian aircraft took off to defend them, and in the ensuing dogfight over the Golan Heights, the IAF shot down six Syrian planes with no Israeli losses. The chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Yitzhak Rabin, warned that Israel would not remain passive in the face of provocation. The Syrians, concerned by their show of weakness, were nervous about Israel's conclusions and intentions. They turned to Egypt for support.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, as the undisputed leader of the Arab world, took up the challenge. On 14 and 15 May 1967, lead units of two Egyptian divisions rolled into the Sinai Peninsula. Nasser placed the Egyptian Army on full alert. The move took the Israeli Intelligence community by surprise. **Military Intelligence** (MI) had calculated that the Arab armies would not be ready for war until 1969–1970. The Egyptians had large numbers of troops tied down in Yemen backing the anti-Saudi, antiroyalist forces there. In addition, since the conclusion of the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, the Sinai had been effectively demilitarized. UN peacekeeping forces had been stationed there as an Israeli condition for the withdrawal of its forces from the Sinai following that war.

Once before, on 18 February 1960, following skirmishes on the Israeli-Syrian border, Egypt had likewise sent large forces into the Sinai with the intention of deterring Israel from attacking Syria. But the Egyptian troop deployments in May 1967 were different. In 1960, the Egyptians had entered the Sinai secretly so that their eventual withdrawal could be low-key and honorable. However, in the May 1967 incursion, there was no radio silence or secrecy; in fact, the sight of Egyptian tanks in bright sand camouflage en route to push the Israelis into the sea received mass attention from the Arab media.

MI had only a few hours' advance warning of the Egyptian move into the Sinai. Even so, it was not overly worried. MI analysts believed that Nasser would order his army and tanks to withdraw after a show of force and had put Israel in its place, as had happened in February 1960. This was the feeling despite the fact that the Soviet Union was clearly stirring up trouble in the region. The Soviets might

have wished to instigate a conflict in order to humiliate Israel or to instill a sense of invincibility in the Arab camp. In fact, on 13 May the Kremlin had given spurious information about nonexistent Israel Defense Forces (IDF) troop movements and about American intentions to Anwar Sadat, Nasser's deputy, who was on a visit to Moscow. The Russians said that Israeli troops were massing and intended to invade Syria. The Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, mentioned 11–13 Israeli brigades massing on the border with Syria. Sadat immediately informed Nasser. The Soviets probably did not intend a war to break out. They thought that both Israel and the Arabs would stop short at the brink, but they were wrong. They seem to have completely underestimated Israel's ability and readiness to defend itself.

On 15 May 1967 Israel celebrated its 19th Independence Day anniversary and the cabinet, based on the MI's assessment, was confident that Nasser's move would not escalate to a war in the region. The mood changed the next day, when Nasser asked UN secretary-general U Thant to withdraw UN forces from the Sinai. U Thant quickly complied, leaving no international forces between Egypt's army in the Sinai and Israel's borders. In fact, the speed with which U Thant complied with Nasser's request may have surprised even Nasser. He may have been bluffing, but having gone this far when his bluff was called, he could lose face by backing down.

By 19 May the Egyptian army had deployed six divisions in the Sinai Peninsula. The director of the **Mossad**, **Meir Amit**, proposed that Israel publish aerial reconnaissance photographs of the massive Egyptian deployment. This tactic, according to Amit, would justify Israel's mobilization of its army reserves, which had begun in the early hours of 16 May. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol rejected this idea.

On 20 May, MI received the ominous information that Nasser had recalled three Egyptian brigades from Yemen. The same day, Egyptian forces entered Sharm al-Sheikh at the southern tip of the Sinai. At midnight of 22/23 May, Nasser announced the closure of the Strait of Tiran, at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, thus closing off Israel's only shipping route through the Red Sea. The closure of these straits was considered by Israel as a casus belli. This had been Israel's red line since the **Sinai Campaign** of 1956. Since then Israel had declared several times that it would not tolerate any blockade of the shipping routes through the Red Sea.

On the morning of 23 May, the Israeli cabinet held a briefing with the participation of the director of MI, Major General **Aharon Yariv**, and concluded that with the closure of the Strait of Tiran it was now merely a question of time until a military response was made. If Israel did not respond, its credibility—and the IDF's deterrent power—would be worthless; the Arab countries might interpret Israeli inaction as weakness, and an opportunity to assail its security and very existence. Yariv recommended an immediate military response. Lieutenant General Rabin and the commander of the IAF, Major General Mordechai Hod, recommended that Israel take the initiative and make the first strike. But Prime Minister Eshkol preferred to continue along the diplomatic path, hoping that Western powers would resolve the issue.

On 30 May Jordan's King Hussein flew to Cairo. This move was a genuine surprise. MI was well aware of the deep animosity between Nasser and Hussein in the past. Nevertheless, on this visit, the two leaders concluded a mutual defense pact and announced that Jordan would form a joint military command with Egypt under an Egyptian general on the Jordanian front.

On 2 June the Israeli cabinet decided in principle to launch a preemptive war. The military realized the dangers of waiting any longer: more Egyptian troops would arrive from Yemen, and the Soviet Union would continue supplying weapons to Egypt. Moreover, it was understood that the United Nations and Washington would do nothing to break Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba. MI was aware of the inadequacy of Egypt's preparations and its army's weak morale. Yariv asserted that the Egyptians were still busy pushing units across the canal and were in such haste that some of their troops had been left without food and water for two days running. Some of them arrived at the front in traditional Arab peasant dress, as there had not been time to issue them with uniforms.

Amit visited his counterparts at the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington, D.C., for consultations and was able to infer that the United States would more than understand an Israeli first strike. On 4 June the Israeli cabinet resolved to start the war on the following morning. Accordingly, on 5 June the IAF struck the Arab military airfields and destroyed 304 out of the 419 Egyptian aircraft on the ground, 53 out of 112 Syrian planes, and Jordan's entire 28-plane air force. The IAF even reached Iraq's westernmost air base at Habbaniya, destroying 10 planes on the ground. The main attack of the

IAF was against the Egyptian air bases and was launched in two waves. The Israeli aircraft flew out over the Mediterranean and then southeast to attack the Sinai bases. At 12:15 P.M. on 5 June Israel attacked the Syrian and Jordanian air forces, putting them largely out of action. With the Arab air forces out of the way, Israeli ground forces moved into the Sinai Peninsula, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank, and overran all this territory within three days. On the sixth day of the war, the IDF took the Golan Heights as well, putting northern Galilee out of range of the Syrian guns.

Israel's impressive victory in the Six-Day War was the result of excellent intelligence obtained mainly as human intelligence (HUMINT) and signals intelligence (SIGINT). The HUMINT was obtained mainly by **Shaaltiel Ben-Yair**, one of the most daring Israeli agents in Egypt. Ben-Yair provided invaluable details about the Egyptian military bases and other sensitive installations. Yosef (Joe) Ra'anan and **Wolfgang Lotz** had penetrated the highest levels of the Egyptian military and political establishments to obtain vital information on Egypt's defense and contingency plans. **Sylvia Raphael** had done a good espionage job in obtaining intelligence information in Egypt before and during the Six-Day War. **Eli Cohen** had achieved the same in Syria and conveyed countless details about the front line of Syrian fortifications on the Golan Heights. There were many more like them, who still remain anonymous. In addition, before the Six-Day War, the Mossad activated in Egypt several non-Jewish Europeans and Americans. Two of them were Italians and one was a Dutchman. They were caught by the Egyptians and became double agents. Ali al-Alfi, masseur to both Nasser and his successor Sadat, may have spied for Israel. He was accused by the Egyptians of doing so and was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in 1979.

The role of the SIGINT in obtaining information on the Arab countries and armies was no less important. Its most valuable information was obtained by monitoring and recording on the morning of 6 June a radiotelephone conversation between Nasser and King Hussein. The conversation took place over the public telephone system and was tapped by two veteran MI officers using vintage World War II equipment. By that time most of Nasser's air force had been eliminated, but he did not share that information with Hussein. Still, it was clear from the conversation that Hussein knew as well as Nasser that

things were going badly. Nasser tried to convince the king that the air attack on 5 June had been carried out jointly by the Israeli, U.S., and British air forces—which Nasser himself might indeed have believed. The monitored phone conversation was made public by Israel at the instructions of Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan, despite the recommendation of the director of MI, Yariv. The result was that the Arab armies upgraded their communications security and made monitoring substantially more difficult for Israeli intelligence.

On the afternoon of 6 June, Israeli SIGINT monitored Nasser's orders to his forces to fall back to the Suez Canal following the breakthrough of the Israeli forces on the north and on the south of the Sinai early on that morning. The disclosure of this order enabled the IDF to start an offensive against Syria on the Golan Heights three days later.

SOLOMON OPERATION/MIVTSA SHLOMO. Despite the rescue operations of the Ethiopian Jews in the 1980s, notably the **Moses Operation**, many Jews still remained in that country. Numerous families had been divided. Following the resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and Ethiopia in early 1990 and the beginning of a prolonged civil war in that country, thousands of Jews flocked to the compound around the Israeli embassy in Addis Ababa, awaiting their turn to go to Israel. In 1990 the **Mossad** embarked on a complex and politically sensitive mission, code-named the Solomon Operation, to airlift thousands of Jews from Ethiopia to Israel. The Israeli government reached an agreement with Ethiopia's ruler, Colonel Haile Mariam Mengistu, to allow their departure for a payment of $30 million. But as civil war brought Mengistu's regime to the brink of collapse, and with famine rapidly claiming the lives of hundreds of Ethiopian Jews, it became clear that those who remained would have to emigrate at once.

On 24 May 1991, with antigovernment rebels closing in on the Ethiopian capital, the Solomon Operation began. Israel Air Force and El Al airplanes took off and landed continuously at Addis Ababa airport. Thirty-three hours after the first plane left Israel, the last plane returned to Israel and some 14,325 Ethiopian Jews had been flown to the country.

The Mossad, which had a key role in the operation, had been assisted on the ground in Ethiopia mainly by Wonderferer Aweke, an Ethiopian Jew who for years had worked secretly for the Mossad in

helping to organize the near-impossible logistical feat of the Solomon Operation, at great risk to his own life as well as the lives of those around him. Aweke was married to an Ethiopian Christian and was the adoptive father of her three daughters; he worked in the capital as a hotel manager while quietly making connections with Jewish communities throughout this vast and hostile land. Twice he had been arrested by the authorities, and he had spent a total of two years in prison on suspicion of collaborating with the Israeli government. Aweke, weary from the task yet thrilled to have come "home" to Israel for the first time himself in the operation, received a hero's welcome for his life's accomplishments. He arrived with his daughters Tadeletch, Tegest, and Mimi, but left his wife behind to close their family business with the promise that he would return to bring her out. He could not. A few months after his arrival in Israel, he died of injuries sustained earlier under the relentless tortures he had experienced in Ethiopian prisons.

SOUTH THEATER/ZIRA DROMIT (**ZIDAR).** The desk in **Military Intelligence** responsible for Egypt and southern Jordan. *See also* BRANCH 2; BRANCH 6.

SOWAN, ISMAIL (1959–). A Palestinian Arab, born in East Jerusalem when that part of the city was under Jordanian rule, Sowan was arrested by British police in their investigation of the assassination of Ali al-Adhami, a Palestinian living in London in 1987.

In 1978 Sowan had gone to Beirut to study civil engineering. Like other young Palestinians, Sowan joined a Palestinian organization in Lebanon, took military training courses, and learned to use the Kalashnikov and other kinds of rifles. He hoped in that way to earn money for his studies. On a visit to his family in Jerusalem, he told of joining the Palestinian organization to his brother, who warned him that he might get into serious trouble if the Israelis discovered this. His brother suggested that he preempt any problem by offering his services to the Israelis.

At the Bethlehem police station, Sowan contacted the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), which showed interest in retaining his services. The code names of his case officers were Captain Elias and Major Yunis. He met them again in a safe house near Mount Herzl in West Jerusalem and told them about his life in Beirut. Sowan came to be

considered an important agent after he led his case officer to a Fatah contact man in Nablus whose address he had obtained from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Beirut. Before Sowan went to meet this man in Nablus, the ISA case officers fitted him with an electronic locating device. The PLO did not discover Sowan's contacts with the ISA. He was told to return to Beirut and inform the Palestinians that the Israelis knew about him. In the meantime, he had abandoned his plans to study in Jordan because he would have been conscripted to the Jordanian army.

When he returned to Jerusalem in 1982, Sowan was introduced by the ISA case officer to a **Mossad** case officer, "Morris." Morris asked Sowan to move to Paris, expenses paid. He resumed his studies in the French capital, from where he reported to another Mossad case officer, "Adam," on his fellow Palestinians in France. Next he was asked by the Mossad to go to study in Great Britain. He was paid a monthly salary of £600 plus expenses, a good wage for a man of his age. Sowan was paying off for what the Israeli intelligence invested in him. In England he became a close friend of Abdel Rahman Mustafa, a major in Force 17, originally established by **Ali Hassan Salameh** as a bodyguard unit to protect Yasser Arafat and later turned into an offensive rather than a defensive organization. Mustafa was an important target for Israeli intelligence, suspected of involvement in the hijacking of a Lufthansa passenger aircraft in 1972. He was so important that another Israeli agent, Bashir Samara, a Druse from the Golan Heights, was sent to trace him. Mustafa, then 37 years old, coordinated the 14-man team that shot dead Ali al-Adhami.

Mustafa left England in April 1987 but deposited weapons and explosive materials in Sowan's apartment in Hull, where Sowan had a job as a research assistant in the Humberside College School of Further Education. Mustafa returned to Britain in July 1987 under an assumed name and asked Sowan if he could store more weapons in his apartment. Sowan had been on vacation, visiting his family in Jerusalem, when al-Adhami had been assassinated, but he heard about the killing and realized that Mustafa was behind it. Sowan's case officers contacted him and urged him to return to Britain, where he was of enormous value to them. He told his case officer how dangerous it was for him to return after the assassination of al-Adhami. The case officer nevertheless persuaded him to return. On arrival

there, he was arrested by the British police. In his interrogation he named all the Israeli case officers working under diplomatic cover from the Israeli embassy in London.

The British court sentenced Sowan to 11 years in jail. The British government decided to expel as personae non gratae the Israeli attachés Ya'acov Regev and Ya'acov Barad. Israeli intelligence lost one of its best agents, who had succeeded in penetrating the inner circles of the PLO's Force 17. Until then Sowan had been deemed a great asset who worked for the Mossad, the ISA, and **Military Intelligence**.

SPECIAL COLLECTION MEANS. "Special collection means" (*emtshaei isuf meyuhadim*) was the name given in **Military Intelligence** (MI) to a highly sensitive source of signals intelligence (SIGINT) prior to the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. This source could be activated only by the orders of the director of MI. The expectation was that this means of collection would produce reliable early warning if Egypt intended to launch a war for any unknown reason; it was regarded as an Israeli insurance policy. However, the use of the special means of collection would have risked exposing it. The special collection means had been used in the past only in circumstances of extreme tension, for example, during the Blue-White Alert in April 1973 following an early warning of a war against Israel by Egypt. When the tension between Israel and Egypt ended in the summer of 1973, the activation of the special collection means ceased.

On the eve of the Yom Kippur War, Director of MI **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira** did not activate the special collection means. On the morning of 5 October 1973 Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan asked Zeira if the special means had collected any significant information indicating war. Zeira replied in the negative, when he should have said that the special collection means had not been activated. Zeira ordered its activation later on 5 October 1973, but by then the contribution it provided was minimal. The minister of defense and the IDF chief of staff were under the impression that all means of collection had been operational and had produced nothing, and they therefore believed that war was not imminent.

SPIES' REVOLT. The **Mossad** began life in 1949 under the wing of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. On 8 February 1951 Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, after consulting with his foreign minister, **Moshe**

Sharett, and the director of the Mossad, **Reuven Shiloah**, decided that the intelligence-collecting function should be removed from the Foreign Ministry; thus its Political Department would be dismantled. A month later the Mossad became part of the Prime Minister's Office, reporting directly to the prime minister.

As a result of this organizational change, on 2 March 1951 senior executives of the Political Department submitted their resignations. For one, **Asher Ben-Natan**, stationed in Europe where he headed the Political Department's operations and activities on that continent refused to acquiesce to the new arrangement. On that day, he assembled his senior operations officers at Geneva, and they resolved not to work for any other of the Israeli intelligence organizations. This collective resignation became known as the "spies' revolt." The rebels threatened that if Ben-Natan was not left in charge of the foreign espionage operations of the Political Department, Israeli intelligence activities would suffer severe damage.

The revolt did not last long; Shiloah enjoyed Ben-Gurion's unreserved backing and the reorganization process went ahead. The functions of the Political Department were distributed among the other Israeli intelligence organizations. Responsibility for special assignments was transferred to **Military Intelligence** of the Israel Defense Forces, headed by Colonel **Binyamin Gibli**. This department soon established the ultrasecret **Unit 131** with the mission of planting agents in Arab countries. All other activities of intelligence collections and operations in foreign countries were assigned to the Mossad. The revolt ended on 1 April 1951, subsequently considered the official birth date of the Mossad.

SPRING OF YOUTH OPERATION. Launched on 9 April 1973, this operation was carried out by approximately 40 commandos from the elite **Sayeret Matkal** of the Israel Defense Forces, which chose the operation's name. Its purpose was to avenge the deaths of the Israeli athletes slaughtered in the **Munich massacre** at the 1972 Olympic Games by eliminating those in any way responsible for the killings.

In February 1973 **Ehud Barak**, the Sayeret Matkal commander, obtained photographs and precise information as to the whereabouts of three Palestinians involved in the massacre: **Kamal Adwan**, **Kamal Nasser**, and Mahmoud Yussuf Najjer, known as **Abu Yussef**,

who were then in Beirut. Others who were involved in the massacre were killed in Europe (*see* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION).

The **Mossad** obtained information that two of the three Palestinians lived on the second and third floors of the same building in Beirut, and that the third lived across the street. The information also specified the exact architectural plans of the buildings.

The plan chosen and carried out by Sayeret Matkal was for the commandos to be landed from the sea off the Lebanese coast near Beirut disguised as tourists; their Uzis, small arms, and explosive charges would be hidden under their clothes. From the beach to the targets inside the city was a distance of about six miles (10 kilometers). Three units would attack each of the three individual apartments; a guard unit would be positioned outside the apartment to contain any Lebanese police or Palestinian backups. The operation was calculated to have about 20 minutes from the first shots until Lebanese or Palestinian reinforcements arrived on the scene. The commandos were expected to be back on the beach by then, ready to board the craft that would take them back to Israel.

Barak himself commanded the operation, dressed as an Arab woman. He led the guard unit. Another officer, **Amiram Levine**, was also disguised as an Arab woman. This unit maintained contact with operational headquarters, located aboard the ships offshore.

Alighting on the Lebanese coast, the commandos were met by three cars driven by Mossad operatives, evidently planted in Lebanon some time before, who knew the city well. They drove the commandos to the apartments and collected them after the operation was accomplished. The Lebanese police subsequently found out that the cars were rented by tourists with passports of different countries, using the names Gilbert Rimbaud (Belgian, about 35 years old) and Dieter Altnuder (German). The two had checked in at the same hotel in Beirut. Most likely they were Mossad operatives. The front desk clerk remembered that the two did not speak to each other; probably they did not know each other.

In addition to the three apartments, a unit from the paratroop brigade, led by **Amnon Lipkin-Shahak**, was assigned to hit the six-story headquarters of the world's most notorious hijackers, George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Another paratroop unit, as well as unit Shayetet 13 (Naval Commando), was to

raid weapons-manufacturing facilities and fuel dumps that the Palestine Liberation Organization maintained in the Tyre-Sidon area.

Sayeret Matkal's commandos trained for the operation in apartment buildings in North Tel Aviv similar in construction to those they assaulted. They practiced as well walking around as lovers, the men holding the "women." Among other well-known officers who took part in Spring of Youth Operation were Muki Betser and Yoni Netanyahu; the latter was later killed in 1976 in the **Yehonathan Operation**.

The Spring of Youth Operation succeeded due to excellent intelligence and ground assistance carried out by the Mossad. However, there were obstacles. The Israeli commandos became aware that three Lebanese policemen were unexpectedly patrolling the area in front of the targets' apartments. Still, Barak at once decided to go ahead with the operation as planned. He was aware that calling headquarters might easily have led to the cancellation of the entire operation. None of the Sayeret Matkal commandos was killed, but one of them was wounded. In the raid led by Lipkin-Shahak, two soldiers were killed. Lipkin-Shahak won a medal of valor for saving the lives of wounded comrades under his command.

STEALING THE CHERBOURG BOATS. *See* NOAH'S ARK OPERATION.

STEALING THE MIG-21. Soon after **Meir Amit**'s appointment as director of the **Mossad** on 25 March 1963, he met many commanders in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) to clarify before them the Mossad's objectives. Amit asked them what they thought could be the Mossad's most valuable contribution to Israeli security. Major General Ezer Weizman, then commander of the Israel Air Force (IAF), remarked characteristically that bringing a Soviet-made MiG-21 to Israel would contribute the most to Israeli security. Israel would then have access to the secrets of the most advanced fighter planes the Arab states possessed and, according to the Russians, the most advanced strike aircraft in the world. The Soviet Union had begun to introduce the MiG-21 into the Middle East in 1961 under heavy secrecy, which was the Russian condition for any deal. By 1963 this aircraft had become the major aircraft of the air forces of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Few in the West knew much about the MiG-21, but all feared its capabilities. The Soviet

Union was well aware of the risk it was taking by stationing MiGs outside of its own borders in the service of foreign armies.

The Mossad had actually tried to acquire a MiG-21 twice before, but had failed. Through the agency of an Egyptian-born Armenian named **Jack Leon Thomas**, the Israelis had tried in the early 1960s to pay an Egyptian Air Force pilot $1 million to defect to Israel with his MiG-21, but the pilot had refused. Serving in a MiG-21 squadron was in the Arab air forces the highest honor that could be granted to a pilot. These pilots were not the kind of men who could be bribed easily. Thomas and a number of accomplices were caught, and Thomas and two others were hanged in December 1962. Another attempt to persuade two Iraqi pilots to defect to Israel also came to naught. But the third attempt would succeed. An unexpected source, with no prompting from Israeli intelligence, appeared when an Iraqi Jew called "Yusuf" (Joseph) contacted Mossad officers with the rather curious information that he might be able to arrange the theft of a MiG-21.

Yusuf had been born to an impoverished Jewish family and was indentured to an Iraqi Maronite Christian family at the age of 10. Although he never attended school and was illiterate, he, like the biblical Joseph, rose to prominence in this non-Jewish family's household. No decision was made without his consultation. He was present at all family meetings, and his was often the final word on any decision. He had risen to become a central figure in the family's affairs, one whom they all looked up to, admired, respected, and loved.

When Yusuf was almost 60, however, in a quarrel the actual head of the household told Yusuf that without the family, Yusuf would have had nothing. Although the man soon apologized, Yusuf did not forget the barb. He decided then and there to explore his "otherness"—his Jewish identity, something he had hardly given a thought to before. He began to learn about Judaism and Israel. Although he maintained his loyalty to his adoptive family, he felt equally loyal to his newfound concern for Israel. In 1964 he contacted Israeli officials in Tehran (until 1979 Israel had sound relations with non-Arab Iran) and Europe. He had something important to tell them.

Through Yusuf, Israel made contact with a Maronite Christian pilot in the Iraqi Air Force named Munir Redfa. Redfa's family felt disaffected with their lot, and his father was frustrated by the increasing

pressures the Iraqi government was imposing on him and other Maronites. Some of his friends had even been imprisoned, and he was finding it difficult to manage his business. Redfa mentioned to Yusuf that he would like to leave the country.

After Yusuf's first contact with the Israelis, many in Israel would have preferred to drop the issue as unrealistic. But not Amit. Even when Yusuf began demanding more money, Amit continued to support the plan. The Mossad contacted a top agent in Baghdad, an American woman, and on Israeli orders or at her own initiative she decided to draw out Redfa. The vivacious American woman, beautiful as well as intelligent, could mix easily in elite social circles wherever she went. She initiated the contact with Redfa at a party, where the two immediately hit it off. He told her that he was a patriotic Iraqi, but he added that he had found himself in violent disagreement with the war waged by his government against the Kurdish minority in northern Iraq. He added that after accomplishing his training as a squadron commander, he was stationed far from his home in Baghdad and was allowed to fly only with small fuel tanks because he was a Christian. In private conversation, he even admitted to his admiration for the Israelis: the few against so many Muslims.

The American woman listened and continued to meet him despite her being married and a mother of children. As relations between them developed she even suggested that they take a holiday together in Europe in July 1966. After a couple of days there, she suggested to Redfa that he fly to Israel with her; she added that she had friends in Israel who might assist him. Redfa at once realized that this had obviously been planned from the start, and her attraction to him was not because of him personally. But he also recognized that she was making an offer that could be of great benefit to him. He arrived in Israel and was given VIP treatment. He was taken on tours, and he met with Mossad officers as well as IAF officers and even the IAF commander himself. They offered him $1 million. The challenge was as attractive as it was dangerous. Redfa insisted that the Mossad officers arrange for the escape of his family from Iraq as well: his wife, his children, and his parents, as well as the rest of his extended family. He received assurances on this, but did not tell his family plainly that they were going to leave Iraq forever. It was decided that Redfa would be granted Israeli citizenship, a job, and a home.

The new commander of the IAF as of April 1966, Major General Mordechai Hod, met Redfa himself to plan the MiG flight together. According to the plan, Redfa was to fly a zigzag course to Israel to escape Iraqi and Jordanian radar. It was explained to Redfa how dangerous the project was going to be. In a 550-mile (900-kilometer) flight, his own colleagues, on realizing what he had done, might send aircraft to shoot him down. Hod suggested to him that he remain calm and follow the plan. All that remained for Redfa was to fix the date for his flight, which he set for 16 August 1966.

Soon members of Redfa's family began leaving the country; one as a tourist, another for medical treatment. Israeli aircraft would be ready to escort him on the appointed date. On that day in August, Redfa went about his business in Iraq as usual, as best he could with coworkers he would never see again. He asked the ground crew to fill his tanks to capacity, an order the Russian advisers generally had to countersign. But the Iraqis disliked the Russian advisers, who seemed to hold them in contempt. This worked to Redfa's benefit. As a star pilot, they were happy to obey his orders, rather than those of the Russians. After taking off, he headed out toward Baghdad, then veered off in the direction of Israel. The ground crew radar picked up a blip on the screen heading west and they frantically radioed him to turn around. He didn't. They warned him they would shoot him down. Hundreds of miles away Israeli radar picked up the blip on the screen. They sent up a squad of IAF Mirages to escort him. He went through his prearranged signals and they flew alongside him to a base deep in the Negev Desert.

On the same day, 16 August, Mossad agents in Iraq hired two large vans and picked up the remaining members of the pilot's family, who had left Baghdad ostensibly for a picnic. They were driven to the Iranian border and guided across by anti-Iraqi Kurdish guerrillas. Safely in Iran, a helicopter collected them and flew them to an airfield, from where an airplane took them to Israel. Newspapers all over the world carried the sensational story of an Iraqi pilot who had defected with his MiG-21 to Israel.

The Soviet Union demanded the return of the aircraft, but Israel has never returned it. However, so as not to infuriate the Soviets too much, Israel did not share any information on the MiG-21 with the United States for a long time. The whole story was not revealed by Israel for quite a while, beyond the fact that an Iraqi pilot had de-

fected with his MiG-21 to Israel. It was no surprise when, during the **Six-Day War** in June 1967, the IAF demonstrated its superiority over the MiG-21 aircraft of the Arab air forces. Yusuf did not move to Israel, preferring to remain a Zionist abroad.

SUBCOMMITTEE FOR INTELLIGENCE AND SECRET SERVICES. A subcommittee of the Israeli Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, this is Israel's parliamentary supervisory body for the intelligence community. *See also* COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO ISRAEL'S INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM IN THE LIGHT OF THE WAR IN IRAQ.

SUSANNAH OPERATION. *See* BAD BUSINESS.

SUTTON, RAPHAEL (RAFI) (1932–). Born in Aleppo, Syria, Sutton immigrated to Israel in 1949 and was drafted into **Military Intelligence** in the Israel Defense Forces, where he was trained by veteran intelligence officer **Ya'acov Nimrodi** in running agents. Sutton became a legendary intelligence officer, running Arab agents in East Jerusalem until two days before the 1967 **Six-Day War**.

SWORD OF GIDEON OPERATION. *See* WRATH OF GOD OPERATION.

– T –

TAJJAR, YEHUDA. *See* BARNETT, RONALD; BEN-PORAT, MORDECHAI.

TAL, NAHMAN (1931–). Tal was born in Israel and served 40 years in the Israeli security services focusing on Arab affairs. In the 1970s he served in the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) as chief of the Gaza and Sinai region. In the 1980s he headed the ISA Arab Affairs Branch. He attended the Madrid Summit in 1991 and also the following peace negotiations with the Palestinians and with Jordan. After resigning from the ISA in 1996, he joined the **Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** at the University of Tel Aviv. Tal holds a Ph.D.

TAMARI, DOV (1936–). The Israeli-born Tamari was conscripted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1954. For 15 years he served in the paratroops and took part in most of the military **reprisal** operations of the 1950s. Tamari studied at the Command and Staff College in the United States; on his return to Israel, he served as deputy commander of the paratroop brigade and then as commander of an armored brigade. Shortly before the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Tamari served as deputy commander of the Armored Corps, and after the war he was made its commander. In November 1976, after his long career in IDF field command positions, Tamari was appointed chief intelligence officer in **Military Intelligence**. He resigned from the IDF with the rank of brigadier general.

TARGETED KILLINGS. *See* ISRAELI SECURITY AGENCY.

TECHNOLOGICAL THEATER/ZIRA TECHNOLOGIT (ZIT). The desk in **Military Intelligence** responsible for technological developments, especially in weapons in the Arab countries. Before the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, this desk was designated **Branch 7**.

TECHSTAR SATELLITE. *See* OFEQ SATELLITES.

TERRORISM. In Israel, the overall term "terrorism" covers Palestinian-Arab terror against Israelis as well as Jewish terror against Arabs and Jews. It appeared well before the establishment of the State of Israel.

Early Jewish Terrorism. Some maintain that certain actions by Jews of the Yishuv (Jewish settlement) in Palestine against British Mandate personnel was terrorism, although the official leaders of the Yishuv condemned it. Only the Revisionist groups in the Yishuv (the Irgun and the Stern Group) made use of something akin to terrorism, yet it was entirely different from the brutal Palestinian terrorism of killing innocent people in buses and restaurants.

Even during the darkest days of British mandatory rule in Palestine, David Ben-Gurion, the leader of the Yishuv, fought an all-out war against the Revisionists. The latter refused to acquiesce to repeated British attempts to diminish the size of the Jewish Homeland, first by the creation of Transjordan in the area east of the River Jordan in the

mandated territory, and then by various plans to partition the area stretching westward of the river to the Mediterranean Sea. Ben-Gurion perceived that the proper way to treat people in despair was to turn them into builders, not murderers. An axiom of his was that he would bring Jews to Palestine even if this meant fighting the British, but he would rather compromise on the land than take up the gun. He considered guns a necessary evil, destroying the people morally and physically. Ben-Gurion refused to choose between morality and *Realpolitik*, action and passivity, and always opted for a third way. He understood that the Yishuv had to develop a military capacity, but felt that it must be applied in a morally pure fashion. Even before the Yishuv possessed any notable military capability, Ben-Gurion developed the tradition of "self-restraint," later known as "purity of arms." Except for a very small and irresponsible segment of Revisionists, the Yishuv did not spill the blood of innocent British or Arabs.

The 1939 British White Paper that limited Jewish immigration to 75,000 and severely curtailed Jewish ability to purchase land in Palestine was issued at a most inopportune moment. The Nazis were poised to unleash the Holocaust on the Jews of Europe. Ben-Gurion declared that he would fight the British as if there were no Germans and the Germans as if there were no British: he would do whatever he could, legal or illegal, to get as many Jews as possible out of Europe and into Palestine, but at the same time would urge his people to volunteer for the British Army to fight the Nazis.

During World War II, the Irgun proclaimed a revolt against British rule in Palestine and embarked on attacks against various government targets. In September 1944 Moshe Sneh, head of the General Headquarters of the Haganah militia, and Eliyahu Golomb, another Haganah leader, met the Irgun commander Menachem Begin and ordered him to desist from these actions.

The turning point in the struggle against the Jewish underground came two months later, with the assassination of Lord Moyne in Cairo. Moyne, a known anti-Zionist, had been appointed British minister of state for the Middle East and, from his residence in Cairo, was responsible for implementing the White Paper policy. The Stern Group considered him responsible for turning back ships crammed with Jews fleeing Europe for Palestine and plotted to assassinate him. Two of its members, Eliyahu Hakim and Eliyahu Bet-Zuri, were dispatched to

Cairo, and on 6 November 1944 they carried out the assassination; they were quickly caught. The Jewish Agency in Palestine denounced the "loathsome crime" of the assassination of Lord Moyne and called for the elimination of the "growing danger posed by the terrorist gang that still exists in Eretz Yisrael." Hakim and Ben-Zuri were charged in Egypt with murder. They were sentenced to death and executed on 23 March 1945.

To prevent independent action by the terrorist groups, Ben-Gurion established the joint Hebrew Resistance Movement (HRM) in Palestine. Its role was to coordinate operations, and the Haganah was authorized to grant final operational approval. This policy reached its peak of effectiveness on 16–17 June 1946 when Jewish fighters succeeded in destroying 10 road and rail bridges, thereby isolating the country from its neighbors. On the night of 28 June (known as Black Saturday), the British retaliated. Tanks and armor backed 17,000 British troops as they sealed off the Yishuv and began a wide sweep against the HRM. Borders were closed, the telephone service stopped, and a night curfew was imposed. Kibbutzim were subject to armed searches, in which Kibbutz Yagur was especially damaged; most of the Yishuv leaders, including **Moshe Sharett**, were arrested. Ben-Gurion himself escaped capture only because he happened to be in Paris.

In the meantime, plans were being finalized for an Irgun bombing of the British government, army, and Criminal Investigation Department headquarters located in a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. In light of the new Jewish Agency antiterrorist policy, Moshe Sneh was supposed to act to stop the operation. Whether he did so or not is in dispute. He did, in fact, make his way abroad to Ben-Gurion in the hope of persuading the Jewish leader to fight Chaim Weizmann's new policy of moderation. But the Irgun, behind its leader Begin, was resolved to proceed against the British administrative premises in the King David Hotel.

The Irgun chose this as their target after British troops had entered the Jewish Agency building on 29 June 1946 and seized countless documents. At about the same time, the British placed more than 2,500 Jews from all over Palestine under arrest. The information about Jewish Agency operations, including intelligence activities in Arab countries, was taken to the King David Hotel.

A week later, news of a massacre of 40 Jews in a pogrom in Poland reminded the Jews of Palestine how Britain's restrictive immigration policy had condemned thousands of Jews to death in Europe.

Begin stressed his desire to avoid civilian casualties and said later that three telephone calls had been made on 22 July 1946: one to the French Consulate in Jerusalem, another to the *Palestine Post* newspaper offices, and a third to the King David Hotel itself, warning that explosives there were about to be detonated. This call was apparently received and ignored. Begin quotes one British official who supposedly refused to evacuate the building, as saying, "We don't take orders from the Jews." Casualties in the hotel wing were accordingly high after the blast: 91 killed and 45 injured. Among the casualties were 15 Jews. Some people in the hotel proper were likewise injured.

Early Arab Terrorism. The origins of Palestinian-Arab terrorism go back to the Ottoman period when the Jewish community of Palestine lived under the shadow of a few wealthy *effendi* families. These families, most prominently the Husseinis and the Nashashibis, hired criminals to attack Jews who threatened rental prices by living outside the Jerusalem city walls.

After the establishment of the British Mandate in Palestine, the influx of Jews increased dramatically, a result of the persecution of Jews in Europe as well as the flowering of the Zionist idea. Now, instead of the steady but manageable stream of Jews into Palestine since the 1880s, the Palestinian Arabs began to feel that they were on their way to becoming a minority; at that point, their leadership turned to violence, hoping to compel the British administration to limit further Jewish immigration.

This tactic proved successful after the Jerusalem pogrom of April 1920, an attack on the old (i.e., pre-Zionist) Yishuv incited by Haj Amin Al-Husseini (subsequently the grand mufti of Jerusalem). The British accused the Zionists of provoking the assault, arrested their leadership, and indeed halted Jewish immigration. Next, in the aftermath of the riots of May 1921 and a change in administrators of the British Mandate, the Palestine government headed by High Commissioner Herbert Samuel changed its policy on the promise to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine—the factor behind the mandate granted to the British by the League of Nations—by determining future

Jewish immigration in accordance with "the numbers and interests of the present population."

Syrian-born Sheikh Izz ad-Din al-Kassam, after whom the current "military wing" of Hamas is named, created the first-ever terrorist network in the history of the British Mandate for Palestine. The network, called the Black Hand, was responsible for the deaths of at least 10 Jews. After it killed a Jewish police officer, al-Kassam was hunted down and killed by British police.

In 1929 Arab mobs slaughtered more than 100 Jews, 60 of them in the Hebron Massacre alone; this was an ancient Jewish community in Palestine whose members had lived among Arabs peacefully for centuries. Many of the Jews' corpses were mutilated by Arabs.

During the Arab Revolt (1936–1939), systematic bombings, riots, and murders by Arabs left hundreds of Jews dead. This paved the way to the establishment of the Arab Department in the Haganah headed by **Ezra Danin**. The same techniques were used by Arabs in the first stage of the 1947–1948 Arab-Israeli War. The onslaught was efficiently contained by the Haganah. On the day of the birth of the independent state of Israel, 15 May 1948, the war erupted into a wide conflict, with the armies of the surrounding Arab nations invading on all sides. Its outcome was that Israel secured its independence, and Transjordan (now renamed Jordan) and Egypt occupied parts of former mandatory Palestine.

Terrorism in Israel after Independence. The years between Israel's independence and the 1967 **Six-Day War** witnessed persistent terrorist activity. Until 1956, the Arab infiltrators' intentions varied: some went only to claim property; others to steal property from Jews who settled near the border; and still others to kill Jews in revenge for the military defeat of 1948. Although a minority among the infiltrators, the last-named caused the deaths of more than 200 Israelis; theft wrought considerable economic damage, and a general sense of insecurity was generated by the raids.

At first Egypt and Jordan attempted to restrain this activity, but neither gained any notable success. In 1954 Egypt diametrically reversed its stance, formally creating a battalion of infiltrators (named *fedayeen*) as a part of the Egyptian Army forces stationed in Gaza. In Jordan, the fedayeen did not have formal status, and the evidence

seems to indicate that the Jordanian authorities were opposed to it. However, the lower-ranking officials and military commanders were reluctant to block infiltrations, and the authorities were either unable or unwilling to force them to do so.

Despite powerful **reprisal** attacks by Israel (which until 1953 included the deliberate targeting of civilians), the infiltrations never stopped, although frequently they were briefly interrupted. Better than a wholly passive strategy by Israel, the "infiltration-then-retaliation" pattern produced a state of border warfare, in particular with Egypt. This situation was insupportable in the long term, and a more comprehensive solution was needed.

By 1956 the need for a change was obvious. Furthermore the Egyptians decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, a move that would block Israeli shipping between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. These factors led Israel to accept an invitation by the British and French to join in a war against Egypt. In this conflict in October 1956, Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula. Afterward, U.S. pressure resulted in an Israeli withdrawal without a full peace treaty, but a promise was made by Egypt to disband the fedayeen and stop their raids. In addition, the United Nations placed peacekeeping forces in the Gaza Strip and Sinai.

In 1965, after several years of quiet, the Syrian government embarked on a program of diverting Israel's water supply from sources rising in Syria. To intensify the belligerency, Syria resorted to Palestinian terrorism. It transformed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), formally established in 1964 and heretofore a moderately successful group with political aspirations led by Ahmad Shukairy, into a full-fledged terrorist network enjoying popular Arab and Palestinian support, with Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement in the van. The first PLO attacks, in February 1965, were aimed—unsurprisingly—at Israel's water installations in the north, but they never caused much damage and the PLO remained only a minor player.

In the 1967 Six-Day War, Israel captured the West Bank and Gaza Strip, territories in which more than a million Palestinians lived, many of them refugees of the war of 1948. Some of the residents of the Occupied Territories belonged to various militant movements. The PLO's previous influence in these areas had been limited by Egypt and Jordan, which regarded the organization as a pawn of Syria. However, in 1967 it began rapidly to take over the existing infrastructure in both regions.

Many Palestinians fled to Jordan and destabilized its political system. Within months, Israel was again the target of a wave of attacks (at that time mainly consisting of, but not limited to, bombings), originating from within the Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories, or from Jordan, which was no longer able to contain them.

The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) retaliated energetically and eventually devised tactics to stop the attacks. By 1970, members of most major Palestinian terror networks in the West Bank and Gaza were identified and arrested, while the PLO's attempts to take over Jordan only led to an armed response and the organization's expulsion by King Hussein. Arafat and the PLO moved to southern Lebanon.

The PLO initiated numerous terrorist raids on Israeli targets from Lebanon that caused hundreds of Israeli casualties. In addition, in the 1970s and early 1980s various arms of the PLO unleashed a plague of terrorist bombings, massacres in synagogues and airports, and airplane hijackings across Europe. The most infamous was the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games by a group known as the Black September Organization. Israel responded with a series of covert actions unofficially known as **Wrath of God Operation**.

On 6 June 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon to eradicate the PLO there. The operation succeeded in putting Arafat and numerous PLO members to flight to Tunisia. During the operation, Israel became entangled with the local population. In 1985 Israel withdrew from all of southern Lebanon except for a 10-mile-wide (16-kilometer) strip whose occupation was intended to prevent mortar and rocket fire at Israel's northern towns. Israel's prolonged stay, and Arab and Iranian backing, stimulated the strengthening of the Shi'ite Muslim group Hizbullah, which began to attack Israeli and Western targets, military and nonmilitary alike.

The Intifada. In December 1987, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza rose up in a popular civil uprising (in Arabic, *intifada*), opposing the continued Israeli occupation. In one of a series of **assessment failures**, **Military Intelligence** analysts did not predict the outbreak of the Intifada. While the Intifada began spontaneously, by January 1988 it was under the control of the PLO headquarters in Tunis. Yet the Intifada also signified the rise of Islamic opposition groups to the secular PLO leadership, particularly Hamas (founded and led by

Sheikh Ahmad Yassin) and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. The Intifada's terror efforts against the Israeli population centered on two main areas. First, provocateurs paid by the PLO got large mobs to assemble daily, stoning Israeli cars and attacking Israeli civilians. Often it was ensured that international media outlets were made privy to forthcoming events so as to maximize media coverage. Second, against the general background of the unrest, numerous deliberate attacks were made, sometimes in remote areas, against Israeli civilians. The nature of the terror attacks varied, but they could mostly be described as "local initiatives" that did not require a central planning apparatus. An example is the Bus 405 slaughter of 6 July 1988, in which 14 passengers were killed when an Arab assaulted the driver as the bus was driving by the edge of a cliff.

In 1993 Israel concluded the Oslo Accords with the PLO, a series of understandings on mutual recognition, cessation of violence, and the creation of the Palestinian Authority (PA). One of PA's obligations, as stated in the Oslo Accords, was the prevention of Palestinian terror against Israel. At first the PA carried out its obligations in accordance with the agreement, and it transformed the Intifada infrastructure into a government-like apparatus. However, periodically in the years after 1993, waves of Palestinian attacks took place. The PA quickly acted against the perpetrators, but it did not arrest the leadership of the terror movements. This sparked suspicion in some members of the Israeli public regarding the timing of the attacks: many waves were launched when the inevitable Israeli reaction might benefit some Palestinian aim during negotiations. Numerous documented instances of incitement against Jews and Israelis in official PA-controlled media, schools, and mosques likewise indicated PA complicity in the terror.

In autumn 2000 the second (Al-Aqsa) Intifada began. The Palestinians still accuse Ariel Sharon, then the Israeli opposition leader, of provoking this uprising through a visit to the politically sensitive Al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount with a large group of Israelis, while Israel claims that the PA started it intentionally to improve the Palestinian position at the negotiating table after the failure of the Camp David talks that summer. This Intifada yielded more than 100 suicide bombings in Israel, mainly targeting city buses, restaurants, and open-air gathering places and killing more than 300 civilians.

Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Fatah were said to have at their disposal enormous quantities of weapons and explosive devices, which all sides agreed were not assembled by the individual bombers but at makeshift factories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Hebron, Jenin, Nablus, and Ramallah became the centers and the infrastructure of this terrorist activity.

Israel asserted that from the start the PA's stance on terrorism had been dubious. It had condemned most terrorist attacks, but never arrested the key leaders of the terrorist networks, seized their weaponry, or even publicly denounced future violence against Israelis. Operatives from the Fatah movement of Yasser Arafat, head of the PA until his death in November 2004, and Palestinian police operatives are known to have participated in many attacks themselves. In a radical change of the PA position, it held that imprisoning militants, even those who targeted Israeli civilians, could be seen as collaboration with Israel.

In the spring of 2002, after terror attacks against a Passover Eve gathering at the Park Hotel in Netanya and against restaurants in Haifa, the IDF began the Defensive Wall Operation in the West Bank (including the town of Jenin). The Israeli government obtained and published thousands of pages of internal PA documents demonstrating how the PA had covertly funded and directed many of the suicide bombings. The outcome of the operation was a return to closer Israeli control over areas ceded to the PA under the Oslo Accords, rendering Israel the ability the gather intelligence on Palestinian preparations for terror acts in Israel. Hence the IDF at short notice could enter facilities where the Palestinians were producing their bombs, stop the work, and even arrest those engaged in it. The number of terrorist attacks has dropped very significantly since then.

Recent Jewish Terrorism. Israel has zero tolerance toward any kind of Jewish terrorism against Arabs. Although instances of it are few, they arouse a great uproar. One of the worst known cases is the Jewish underground activists who in 1984 attempted to kill the mayors of four Palestinian towns in the West Bank. Then there is the case of the U.S.-born Israeli settler Baruch Goldstein, a member of Kach—an extremist and racist anti-Arab Jewish movement founded by Meir Kahane, a U.S.-born rabbi, who was dismissed by his con-

gregation for excessive anti-Arab religious zeal. Kahane was murdered in 1990 by El Sayyid Nosair, a member of an Arab terrorist cell operating in New York. After his death, his adherents created the Kahane Chai ("Kahane Lives") movement. Israel branded both movements "terrorist organizations." On 24 February 1994 Goldstein opened fire on Muslim worshipers in the mosque in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, killing 29 people and wounding more than 100 more. Palestinians in the mosque then beat Goldstein to death. In response to this event, Israel issued orders on 27 February 1994 for the administrative detention of five members of the Kach and Kahane Chai and announced that some settlers in Hebron would be disarmed and approximately 15 would be barred from entering the West Bank. A commission was created to investigate the Hebron killings. Israel also announced the planned release of 1,000 Palestinian prisoners on 7 March 1994. On 13 March 1994 Israel outlawed Kach and Kahane Chai and made any financial or verbal support for these groups illegal. The IDF clarified orders on the use of weapons against Jewish settlers, stating that troops could open fire in any life-threatening situation involving either Palestinians or Israelis.

The most heinous act of Jewish terrorism against a Jew was committed on 4 November 1995, when Yigal Amir assassinated Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. Amir was a member of Eyal, an offshoot of the racist Kach. Just as the concept that a Jew would not kill an Arab was broken by Goldstein on 27 February 1994, the idea that a Jew would not kill another Jew was shattered on 4 November 1995.

Over the years, Israel has gained experience in dealing with the various kinds of terrorism by diverse means, including gathering intelligence and defensive and offensive measures, as well as legal means. The problem in combating terrorism remains resolving the democratic dilemma of combating terrorism effectively and preserving liberal values. *See also* BUS 300 AFFAIR; INTERNATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE FOR COUNTERTERRORISM (ICT).

TERROR THEATER/ZIRAT TERROR (ZITAR). The desk in **Military Intelligence** responsible for watching terror activities, assessing their trends, and providing early warning.

TEVEL. *See* MOSSAD.

THIRD MAN, THE. *See* BAD BUSINESS; ELAD, AVRAHAM (AVRI).

THOMAS, JACK LEON (?–1962). An Egyptian-born American, Thomas grew up in Cairo and later moved to Beirut and then to West Germany. In 1958 he met a wealthy businessman, who called himself Emil and claimed to be working for the NATO countries. The two became friends, and Emil suggested that Thomas return to Egypt and work for NATO to promote the overthrow of what he termed the corrupt Nasserist regime. Emil was actually a **Mossad** case officer, who was applying the so-called false-flag recruiting technique, never mentioning the word "Israel" in his conversations with Thomas. Thomas's motivation was financial gain, perhaps mixed in with some ideology. Thomas accepted the new job and underwent a short but extensive course in Cologne on the tradecraft of espionage, such as secretly photocopying documents, using invisible ink, hiding and secretly mailing documents, and so on.

In July 1958 Thomas returned to Egypt and began to recruit informers there. He frequently traveled to Europe to meet his "NATO" handlers and to be paid for information. On one trip to West Germany, Thomas met a German woman named Kathy Bendhof. They married and Kathy became his courier. After a while, trust developed between Thomas and his Mossad case officers, and they revealed to him that he was actually working for Israel. This came as no surprise to Thomas, who had suspected for some time that he was working for the Israelis. He enlarged the network, recruiting two Armenians and a Jewish nightclub performer in Egypt. Kathy underwent training in intelligence in the Netherlands, including the art of secret radio transmitting. Every few days, she would transmit information to Tel Aviv using the radio transmitter hidden in her kitchen; in the same way, she received more instructions on information to be obtained.

By this time, Thomas and his wife had acquired a good measure of self-confidence. In one bungled attempt, the Thomas network tried unsuccessfully to persuade an Egyptian Air Force pilot to defect to Israel with his MiG jet fighter in return for $1 million (*see also* STEALING THE MIG-21). Then in May 1960, the couple chose Hanna Karolos, a

young Egyptian-Copt army officer, as a candidate for their espionage network, disregarding word from Tel Aviv to await further instructions. Karolos pretended to take the bait, but immediately informed his superiors. Egyptian counterespionage units laid a trap for the Israeli network and even tricked its members with false information.

Thomas now sensed that the ground was burning beneath his feet. He requested permission from **Isser Harel** to disband the network and to use false passports for safe passage out of the country. Kathy Thomas and a Jewish nightclub performer succeeded in leaving Egypt. Jack Thomas, however, was arrested on 6 January 1961. His pleas before the court that he was not a traitor and that he had spied only as a pastime were not heeded, and he was hanged on 20 December 1962.

THUNDERBALL OPERATION. *See* YEHONATHAN OPERATION.

THUNDERBOLT OPERATION. *See* YEHONATHAN OPERATION.

TIGER OPERATION. *See* SCHUMACHER, YOSSELE.

TOBIANSKI AFFAIR. Meir Tobianski, a veteran of the Haganah and an engineer in the Palestine Electric Corporation, was accused of spying for the British after Jordanian artillery scored devastatingly accurate hits on Israeli bases. The Jerusalem commander of the **Information Service** (Shai), Major **Binyamin Gibli**, concluded that there was a spy among the Israeli ranks and suspected Tobianski, who in Gibli's mind fed information to his bosses in the electric corporation, who in turn conveyed the information to British officers who conveyed the information to the Transjordanian Arab Legion. During World War II, Tobianski had been a major in British Royal Engineering. Based on circumstantial evidence, a field court-martial composed of Shai members, Lieutenant Colonel **Isser Be'eri**, David Karon, Avraham Kremer, and Gibli himself found Tobianski guilty of espionage. No records of the brief trial were kept. On 29 June 1948, one day before the disbanding of the Shai, Tobianski was executed by a firing squad.

A group of other young soldiers watching the scene could not believe that one of them had been shot to death. During the execution, Tobianski's face was not even covered by a handkerchief. All the members of the court-martial except Be'eri maintained after the trial that they

thought that they were just interrogating Tobianski as a suspect and did not know that they had sentenced him to death. A few hours after the execution, Be'eri informed the prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, that an army unit had shot to death a traitor. Tobianski's widow learned of her husband's arrest three weeks later from the press.

An emotional letter from Tobianski's widow to Ben-Gurion led to an investigation of the affair, which cleared Meir Tobianski of the espionage charges. Ben-Gurion awarded Meir Tobianski the rank of captain and ordered a state pension for his widow and their son. Be'eri was tried for his part in the execution in October 1949. The court decided to remove Be'eri from military service. Privately Be'eri maintained that Tobianski was a British spy and that there was ample evidence to prove it. Be'eri said that he declined to state this publicly during his trial because by doing that he might cause pain to the dead man's family.

TOLEDANO, SHMUEL (1921–). Born in Tiberias, Israel, Toledano attended the Scottish College in Safed. Before the establishment of the State of Israel, he was an officer in the Haganah underground militia, was arrested by the British, and was imprisoned at Latrun. In the Haganah, Toledano, under his codename Uzi, was a controller of the **Information Service**'s Arab Department in the Jaffa area. After the establishment of the state, he served in **Military Intelligence** of the Israel Defense Forces (1949–1952), where he monitored Arab press and radio stations and interrogated Arab prisoners. He was demobilized with the rank of major and then joined the **Mossad** and became one of its most senior officers (1953–1976). Having grown up among Arab neighbors in Tiberias, Toledano was a fluent Arabic speaker, and because of this and other factors he was considered to possess important qualifications in the Mossad.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s Toledano worked under diplomatic cover at the Israeli embassy in Paris, where he concentrated on protecting Jewish interests around the globe. To his colleagues, he was then known by the code name Amnon. He was the officer in charge of the Israeli intelligence network in Morocco, known by its code name **Misgeret**. Periodically he traveled to Morocco disguised as a Palestinian refugee, always and everywhere speaking Arabic. The network's purpose was to initiate the illegal Moroccan Jewish

immigration to Israel known as the **Yakhin Operation**. On those visits even his family did not know of his whereabouts. In the midst of the Yakhin Operation, he was asked to join the team engaged in Adolf **Eichmann's capture**. In 1962 Toledano was assigned to the **Tiger Operation** searching for **Yossele Schumacher**. He was appointed Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's adviser on Arab affairs in 1964.

Toledano was a member of the Israeli Workers party (Mapai) (1960–1977), the Dash party (1977–1978), and the Shinui party (1978–1983) before joining the United Workers party (Mapam) in 1984. He was a member of the Knesset (1977–1981).

TOP SOURCE. *See* ASHRAF, MARWAN.

TRIDENT NETWORK. The Trident Network was the name given to the cooperation between the intelligence communities of Israel, Iran, and Turkey for collecting intelligence about the Egyptian government. The Trident framework was first mooted in the late 1950s, and in 1958 it came into being at the initiative of the Israeli **Mossad** under **Isser Harel**, with the cooperation of the intelligence communities of Turkey and Iran. Ethiopia joined Trident later.

The Trident member countries were supported or sponsored to some extent by some European and the U.S. intelligence communities, which were the driving forces behind its operation. Britain, which had lost the Suez Canal to Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser in the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, sought to maintain its influence and intelligence capabilities in the Middle East through the Trident Network.

Conceptually Trident was based on the Israeli political **Periphery Doctrine** in the Middle East region. This posited that Arab nationalism was the main threat or chief cause of instability in the region; therefore, the non-Arab countries of the region should consolidate for closer cooperation. The aim of the Trident Network was accordingly to establish intelligence cooperation against the rising tide of Arab nationalism.

The Turkish and Iranian intelligence communities benefited from having close connections with their counterparts in several European countries, while the United States supported the Trident Network hoping to exert influence in the region by this means. Trident was backed to some extent by the intelligence community of France,

which at the time was embroiled in a civil war in Algeria, since the Algerian rebels were supplied and trained by Egypt and other Arab states. Trident institutionalized many aspects of the exchange of intelligence information between its member countries.

The Trident Network established the procedure of semiannual meetings of the directors of the intelligence communities of the member countries to coordinate policy and priorities, as well as day-to-day work, among the communities. They created standard forms of communications and appointed liaison officers, enabling officers of each intelligence community access to the others, including their technology and training facilities. Although its level of intensity fluctuated, intelligence cooperation within Trident Network was maintained until the 1979 revolution in Iran and made a distinct contribution to closer security relations between the participating countries in the Eastern Mediterranean.

TSAFRIRIM. *See* MOSSAD.

TSNON. *Tsnon*, the Hebrew word for "radish," was the agreed code word for "war is imminent" prior to the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. On the night of 4 October 1973, the **Mossad**'s Top Source, **Ashraf Marwan**, contacted his case officer in London and passed this code word, conveying the message that Egypt and Syria were about to attack Israel. He promised to provide more details within 24 hours. At 2:30 A.M. on 5 October 1973, the case officer cabled the code word to the director of the Mossad, **Zvi Zamir**.

TSOMET. *See* MOSSAD.

TURKI, DAOUD. An Israeli Christian Arab who managed a political book store in Haifa. Between 1968 and 1969 Turki started to organize a Marxist revolutionary group. He wrote to Habib Khawarji, a former Haifa Arab resident living in Cyprus, asking for financial aid for his newly established organization. Khawarji referred Turki to Syrian intelligence. By the end of 1969, he began recruiting members for a new underground. In 1970 Turki attended a meeting of Matzpen, an illegal anarchist group active in Israel during the 1960s and 1970s. The group had about 100 members, a small minority of

whom were Arabs; the rest were Jewish students at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the University of Haifa. It opposed the existence of a Zionist Israel and did not even accept the 1947 United Nations resolution adopting a plan to partition Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. Matzpen advocated a profound transformation of the Middle East by revolutionary means.

In Matzpen, Turki met two Israeli Jews, Ehud (Udi) Adiv and Dan Vered. Both were students at the University of Haifa. Adiv and Vered were Communist-oriented but they regarded the legal Israeli Communist party as too moderate. The three men formed an even more radical underground organization called the Revolutionary Communist Alliance–Red Front, which aimed to commit sabotage acts in Israel and embark on an armed struggle. Among other active members recruited were Subhi Naarani, an Israeli Bedouin; Annis Kaarawi from an Arab village in the Galilee; and Simon Haddad, a student at the University of Haifa. The organization was structured as three cells. Members of one cell did not know the members of other cells. Turki himself contacted only the heads of the three cells.

In October 1970 Khawarji informed Turki about the delivery from Syria to the newly established group of shipments of arms and explosives to be smuggled into Israel across the Lebanese border. Turki was instructed to listen to the Syrian radio broadcasting codes based on texts from the Quran.

In summer 1971 Adiv was assigned to recruit Jews and send them to Syria for sabotage training. In September that year he flew to Athens, from where he cabled his contacts in Beirut and signed his code name "Musa." He specified details of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) paratroop units, the deployment of IDF armored units, airfields of the Israel Air Force, and sites of surface-to-air defenses. Adiv persuaded Vered to go to Syria and paid him $700. Vered flew via Greece to Syria, where he underwent training in weapons, explosives, and codes. On one of Adiv's trips to Greece, he sent his letters to Syria using invisible ink. Later Adiv spent 10 days in Syria, where he prepared a 20-page report detailing the political, economic, and military situation in Israel. On that visit he underwent further training in sabotage.

The existence of the organization became known to the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA), which carried out surveillance on extremist

groups in Israel like Matzpen. ISA agents succeeded in penetrating these groups, including the new underground organization. In due course, Matzpen's members were caught and tried. Turki and Adiv were sentenced by the Haifa district court in March 1973 to 17 years in prison for treason. Vered was sentenced to 10 years. Naarani and Kaarawi, despite their lesser role in the underground group, were sentenced to 15 years in prison for other security offenses. Haddad was sentenced to two years, and other members of the underground were given minor penalties.

The members of this underground were generally considered amateur spies. Turki was regarded as the most professional of them. He and Adiv were released in 1985 in an extraordinary and controversial prisoner exchange deal with Ahmed Jibril of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command.

TUSHIA OPERATION (1956). *Tushia* means "initiative" in Hebrew. The Tushia Operation was started after the 1956 **Sinai Campaign** by Israeli intelligence in the hope that its operatives in Egypt would be able to contact Egyptian Jews and persuade most if not all to leave for Israel. On 9 November 1956 Major **Avraham Dar** and **Aryeh (Lova) Eliav**, together with their radio operator, slipped into the war zone in French military uniforms pretending to be French officers. They advanced with the British and the French troops as they marched in the direction of Cairo and Alexandria, where there were large Jewish communities. But the British and the French halted the invasion, and the three Israelis found themselves stranded in Port Said. There they found only 200 Jews, mostly elderly and with no interest in moving to Israel. In the Jewish synagogue in the town, they encountered only 65 Jews willing to leave with them for Israel. Secretly the three took them to the harbor and, with the assistance of the French Army, got them aboard two French military landing craft. After sailing out about two miles (three kilometers), the two craft met up with two tiny Israeli Navy vessels camouflaged as Italian fishing vessels. The newcomers were greeted by **Shlomo Hillel**, a veteran of the Israeli intelligence community. A day later these Egyptian Jews reached Israel. Dar and Eliav arrived in Israel a day later. The Tushia Operation was relatively easy to execute thanks to French Army assistance.

– U –

ULSHAN-DORI COMMISSION. This commission was appointed by Prime Minister **Moshe Sharett** to investigate who gave the order for the sabotage acts in Egypt in 1954 undertaken by the Jewish espionage network in Egypt in the affair known as the **Bad Business**. The commission started its work on 2 January 1955. It was composed of Supreme Court Judge Ya'acov Ulshan and the first chief of the General Staff of the Israel Defense Forces, Ya'acov Dori. The commission adjourned in mid-January 1955 without clear-cut conclusions with regard to direct responsibility for the activities of the network in 1954. The commission concluded: "The truth is that we were not prepared to state, from evidence presented on behalf of **Binyamin Gibli**, that he received an instruction from **Pinhas Lavon**—not because we were convinced that he did not receive one." *See also* AMIAD COMMISSION; COHEN COMMISSION; COMMITTEE OF SEVEN.

UNIT 131. This ultrasecret unit was first known as **Heker 2**. It was set up in 1948 inside the Political Department of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Its assignments were to conduct sabotage and propaganda behind enemy borders. When the Political Department was disbanded in 1950, its missions were transferred to **Military Intelligence** (MI).

Unit 131 operations abroad were overseen by a committee of two: **Reuven Shiloah** and the deputy chief of the General Staff. In 1951 Colonel **Mordechai (Motke) Ben-Tsur** was made the unit's commander. Its main assignment was to set up an espionage network in Egypt.

Since the day of its establishment, Unit 131 has been a source of controversy. The chief of the General Staff, Moshe Dayan, maintained it was a waste of money and manpower for the Israel Defense Forces to be engaged in clandestine activities. The director of the **Mossad**, **Isser Harel**, maintained that all foreign operations, including those of Unit 131, should be under the aegis of the Mossad. The director of MI, **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, believed that Unit 131 should not be activated in peace time.

In 1954 Unit 131 was involved in the **Bad Business**, using the Jewish espionage network in Egypt for sabotage against Western targets in Egypt. This mission failed and created a massive scandal in Israel.

After **Meir Amit** became the director of the Mossad in 1963 the functions of Unit 131 were moved from MI to the Mossad.

UNIT 132. This was a sister unit of **Unit 131** in **Military Intelligence**. Unit 132 was in charge of conducting psychological warfare in hostile Arab countries beyond Israel's borders. Before the Egyptian Revolution of July 1952, the unit's agents distributed antimonarchy propaganda in Cairo. **Eliyahu Nawi** was in charge of conducting this propaganda, using the Voice of Israel broadcasting in Arabic.

UNIT 154. The collection unit in **Military Intelligence** in the 1950s was designated Unit 154.

UNIT 504. This unit in **Military Intelligence** (MI) collects information by means of human intelligence (HUMINT), that is, spies. Most of its work is done by means of outside agents. The officers of Unit 504 are known as "officers for special tasks" (Hebrew acronym *katamim*); they constitute a fairly small body and undergo two-track training. The unit commander is an officer with the rank of colonel.

Unit 504's unique tasks have aroused much criticism. On the one hand, this is a small, seemingly elitist unit, which carries out sensitive missions; but, on the other hand, it is treated as if it were the stepchild of MI.

During the Israel Defense Forces' 18-year presence in Lebanon, members of Unit 504 were especially active across Israel's northern border. Naturally, Unit 504's operational successes usually remain far from the public eye. Still, several of its officers and other ranks have been linked to dubious affairs. The unit's extensive activity in Lebanon was in Camp 1391; this became the gateway to Israel for Lebanese nationals wanted by Israel, especially those suspected of membership in Hizbullah. Some of them were captured in battle, and others were abducted at Israel's initiative; they were transferred via Camp 1391 to the southern side of the border. The most famous of the abductees are Sheikh Abd al Karim Obeid, who was seized in 1989, and Mustafa Dirani, who was taken by force to Israel in 1994.

UNIT 515. *See* UNIT 8200.

UNIT 848. *See* UNIT 8200.

UNIT 8200. The signals intelligence (SIGINT) unit in **Military Intelligence** (MI). According to foreign sources, its original name was Unit 515. Then it was named Unit 848, and after the **Yom Kippur War**, it was renamed Unit 8200. It was also known as the Central Warning Unit.

After the **Six-Day War** in June 1967, MI allocated substantial budgets to this SIGINT unit to improve its capability to collect information, on Syria and Egypt especially. SIGINT centers were established for this purpose at Tel Avital in the Golan Heights and on Mount Hermon. Another important SIGINT center was established at Um-Hashiba in the Sinai Desert. Unit 848 (still its name on the eve of the Yom Kippur War) was expected to collect unequivocal evidence and communications intelligence (COMINT) to give early warning regarding the launching of a war. The unit commander at that time was Lieutenant Colonel **Yoel Ben-Porat**, who eventually retired from the IDF with the rank of brigadier general.

In the days before the Yom Kippur War, this unit by means of SIGINT collected information that the Syrians were bringing bridging tanks up toward the front, deploying Sukhoi-17 aircraft at frontline unprotected airfields, and moving the Syrian Army's 47th Division from Homs to the Golan Heights. The information collected by this unit was outstanding regarding the volume of ammunition being taken to the Golan Heights front. Twenty hours before the launch of the war, the unit collected evidence on the ongoing evacuation process, due to the Kremlin's awareness of Egypt's and Syria's intentions of going to war against Israel. The fall of the Hermon strongpoint brought about the loss of this essential SIGINT means in the Syrian theater.

Unit 848 also had deployed **special collection means** in Egypt, but the director of MI, Major General **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**, decided not to activate them. As a result, concrete early warning evidence of last-minute Egyptian preparations for war was missed. Zeira's decision was based on his belief in the **Concept** that Egypt had no intention to start a war and his desire to keep the SIGINT capabilities secret.

By and large, the unit functioned efficiently during the Yom Kippur War. Since then, the unit's capability has improved substantially, and it is now considered one of the best SIGINT agencies in the world.

UNIT 9200. *See* MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

URANIUM SHIP OPERATION. *See* PLUMBAT OPERATION.

– V –

VANUNU, MORDECHAI (1954–). Born in Marrakech, Morocco, to a right-wing Jewish family, Vanunu immigrated with his parents and sisters to Israel in the early 1960s and grew up in the city of Beer Sheba. After ending his national service in the Israel Defense Forces in 1976, he was looking for work and answered a newspaper ad for technicians at the Dimona Nuclear Research Center. He was hired, and, after gaining security clearance, signed a pledge of secrecy and undertook not to talk to anyone about his work. On 1 January 1977 Vanunu entered a preparatory two-month employment course at the nuclear plant. He then passed a medical checkup. For the next 10 weeks he did another round of training for work at the reactor in nuclear physics. This period ended at the end of June 1977, and Vanunu was formally admitted to the "holy of holies" of Israel's security—the **nuclear weapons program**. He received another security pass, number 320, which gave him entry to Institute (*Machon*) 2, where allegedly nuclear weapons are manufactured. There were no complaints against him or reports of unusual behavior. But after the first flush of excitement wore off, Vanunu found the work boring and monotonous.

From 1981, while working at the Nuclear Research Center, Vanunu was also enrolled at Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheba, where he studied philosophy. On campus, he began sympathizing with the Palestinian cause and even told his fellow students how horrified he was that Israel had so much nuclear firepower—thereby breaching his commitment to secrecy. Vanunu accordingly became a "checkee" (one who had to be checked and placed under supervision). But his bosses ignored the instructions and continued to treat Vanunu as an outstanding worker. They even sent him to an advanced course for senior staff. The **director of security for the Defense Establishment** and the **Israeli Security Agency** also bear some degree of responsibility for the security blunders in the Vanunu affair.

In 1985 Vanunu was fired from his job in the Dimona Nuclear Research Center. He thereafter traveled to Thailand and Nepal, carrying photographs and undeveloped film of the inside of the Israeli nuclear reactor that he had taken secretly after smuggling a camera into Institute 2. In the Far East, Vanunu considered converting, or may actually have converted, to Buddhism. However, for some reason in 1986 he moved on to Australia, where he joined a church prayer

group and converted to Christianity. He found a job driving a taxi part-time. Among the faithful in the prayer group was a Colombian, Oscar Guerrero. A free-lance journalist, Guerrero had fallen on hard times and had taken up house painting and listening to Bible readings. Vanunu told his new friend about his past job at the Dimona reactor and even showed him the secret photographs. Guerrero urged Vanunu to publish them for money, hoping to make some money for himself as well.

Guerrero approached the *Sydney Morning Herald*, but the newspaper was reluctant to pay anything for the photographs or the story. Then Guerrero offered this material to the *Age* newspaper in Melbourne, not realizing it was in the same group as the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Rejected again, he decided to try the London papers. He put together all the money he had, borrowed from Vanunu's dwindling reserves, and booked a flight to London. There he approached the *Daily Mirror*, which rejected the offer. According to one version of the story, the publisher of the *Daily Mirror*, Robert Maxwell, was some kind of **Mossad** agent with the status of "Mr. Fixit," opening the right doors for Israel and the Mossad at the right time. The foreign editor of the newspaper, Nicholas Davies, was allegedly a Mossad agent as well. The two supposedly decided to alert the Mossad to Vanunu. However, there is no confirmation that these two men were Mossad agents. Be that as it may, at that point Guerrero concluded a deal with the *Sunday Times*.

The *Sunday Times* planned to fly Vanunu to London, interview him at length, and publish his story in detail. The arrangement was that after the story had been printed, Vanunu would get a £250,000 advance on a book about Israel's nuclear capability that he would write with one of the newspaper's staff. Guerrero's cut would be 10 percent. Vanunu flew to London and was put up in various hotel rooms. By this time the story was on course for publication, although the *Sunday Times* was still a long way from printing anything. British intelligence somehow became aware of the Israeli problem with Vanunu and even proposed help, but they requested the Mossad not to abduct Vanunu from British soil, which would embarrass Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Sunday Times journalists were tailed by Mossad agents, but none led their "shadows" to Vanunu's hotel. Finally Davies telephoned the editor of the *Sunday Times*, a friend, and learned the name of the hotel where Vanunu was staying. Thus the Mossad became aware of Vanunu's whereabouts, and a plan was put into action. To avoid problems with the

British, Vanunu would be kidnapped in Italy. A Mossad "female assistant agent," the young and attractive **Cheryl Ben-Tov**, known by her cover name "Cindy," was given the job of enticing Vanunu to Rome.

On the evening of 24 September 1986, Cindy contrived to encounter Vanunu while strolling through Leicester Square. They chatted, and she suggested a drink at a pub. During the following few days, she met him a few times. By then Vanunu was giving his interviews to the *Sunday Times*. On one date she happened to mention her "apartment in Rome." She invited Vanunu to go with her for a visit. The offer was too tempting to refuse. They landed at Rome airport on 30 September 1986 at 9:00 P.M. and took a taxi to Cindy's apartment. There, three Mossad case officers awaited them. Vanunu was grabbed, given a knockout injection, and bundled into a large crate. This was taken to an Israeli ship and loaded as diplomatic cargo, which meant that the authorities could not inspect it.

Once the ship was at sea, Vanunu was taken out of the crate, handcuffed, and kept in a guarded cabin. As soon as the vessel docked at Ashdod in Israel, a colonel of the Israel Police formally arrested him on security grounds.

When Vanunu did not reappear in London after his weekend away with Cindy, the *Sunday Times* decided to run the article on the Israeli nuclear weapons program, with the photos, on 5 October 1986. The *Daily Mirror* already had run a disinformation piece trying to refute the *Sunday Times* scoop, but it had a minor effect.

The Vanunu revelations in the *Sunday Times* caused a world outcry. More was to follow when he was brought to court and everyone asked how he had been brought back to Israel. He was able to give a clue, even though he was constantly held in solitary confinement. On one of his rides to the courthouse in a police van, he pressed his open palm against the van window; on it he had written "Hijacked in Rome." According to **Shabtai Shavit**, a former Mossad director, the option of killing Vanunu had been considered in 1986—but he added that Jews do not kill Jews.

Vanunu was sentenced in 1986 in camera to 18 years in jail for espionage and treason. The *Sunday Times* was probably happy because it got its story without having to pay for it. In prison, Vanunu was held in grim conditions of solitary confinement in a 6-by-10-foot (2-by-3-

meter) cell. He was deprived of basic rights, including access to newspapers, radio, and television. He was permitted a short walk every day, but alone so that he would not come into contact with other prisoners. The number of visitors he was allowed was reduced to a handful of family members and his lawyers. On 21 April 2004 Vanunu was released from prison with strict restrictions on his freedom of movement in the country and a ban against talking to foreign media; he was forbidden to travel abroad.

VARASH. *See* COMMITTEE OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES.

VERED, DAN. *See* TURKI, DAOUD.

– W –

WAR OF ATTRITION. Egyptian artillery started pounding Israeli positions near the Suez Canal again soon after the **Six-Day War** ended. Forty-seven Israeli mariners were lost on 21 October 1967 in the Israeli destroyer ***Eilat*'s sinking** by the Egyptians. A few months later, Israeli military patrols began to be ambushed. Thus began the so-called War of Attrition, a bloody, three-year confrontation. From 15 June 1967 to 8 August 1970 (when a cease-fire came into effect), Israel lost 1,424 soldiers and more than 100 civilians killed. Another 2,000 soldiers and 700 civilians were wounded. Underlying this action by Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser was his belief that Israel could not long sustain a war of attrition because most of its army was made up of reserves. The economic burden, he thought, would be too heavy for Israel to bear, and the unending stream of casualties would wear down morale. This strategy of measured enfeeblement of Israel led Nasser to order graduated attacks that would not trigger an Israeli reply of all-out war.

During the War of Attrition, **Military Intelligence** (MI) was asked primarily to assess the Egyptian intention to open fire against the Israeli Army along the Suez Canal. Until February 1969, MI based its assessments on the questioning of Egyptian defectors who crossed

the Suez Canal, although in practice the army group intelligence officer was required to provide this kind of information. But after February 1969 Egyptian defections ceased. Thereafter MI, together with the field intelligence officers, engaged in specifying targets in Egypt for the Israel Air Force (IAF) in Egypt's hinterland. The most important targets were Egyptian antiaircraft artillery and surface-to-air missile (SAM) batteries. The difficulty was that the Egyptians frequently moved their artillery. It was essential that the IAF find its targets from the most updated information.

In addition, MI was tasked to provide accurate information for IDF deep-penetration ground raids into Egyptian territory. In an attempt to minimize the risk to life on intelligence-collecting missions, someone came up with the idea of using a robot mounted on a simple model airplane that could be flown remotely by radio control, at a cost of about $120 per flight. This robot, which collected pretty good pictures at high resolution, may be considered the birth of the unmanned miniaircraft. It was used in various sectors along the Suez Canal.

Paradoxically, the success in targeting Egypt led to the involvement of the Soviet Union in the battles of the War of Attrition, which complicated matters. At times IAF pilots had to engage Soviet pilots flying Egyptian Air Force aircraft. To prevent escalation to an international conflict, which could draw the superpowers into a military clash, the United States initiated various cease-fire plans. The best-known and most important was the Rogers Initiative (named for William P. Rogers, U.S. secretary of state at that time). On 21 July 1970 the Israeli government decided to accept this initiative. Nasser did likewise on 23 July, and the cease-fire went into effect on the night of 7/8 August 1970. But no sooner had the shooting ceased than Nasser moved SAM batteries into the Suez Canal zone in defiance of the cease-fire agreement—and as accurately predicted by analysts of MI under its director Major General **Aharon Yariv**.

As early as the morning of 8 August, IAF reconnaissance flights showed clearly the presence of SAM batteries along the Suez Canal that had not been there previously. Before the cease-fire, there had been 16 missile battery sites, and only one of them within 19 miles (30 kilometers) of the Suez Canal. By IAF reconnaissance in October 1970 showed 50 SAM batteries, four of them in an 8- to 13-mile-wide (13–21 kilometer) strip west of the Suez Canal. Forty-two of the bat-

teries were operational, and 16 were manned by 3,000 Soviet personnel. These batteries had an effective range to 12.5 miles (20 kilometers) east of the canal and constituted a real threat to IAF activity. The United States was initially reluctant to confirm the findings of the Israeli MI, but a U-2 air reconnaissance on 29 August 1970 confirmed the presence of this kind of artillery. Nasser's goal in moving the Egyptian missiles close to the cease-fire line was to gain a stronger position in any future negotiations with Israel. This cease-fire brought the War of Attrition to a close; each side considered itself the victor.

During the War of Attrition, Israel scored some impressive successes, especially in boosting the public mood. The best known is the **Rooster Operation** on the night of 26/27 December 1969, when an entire Egyptian radar apparatus was captured. This success was based on excellent intelligence.

WORLD THEATER/ZIRAT KOL HA'OLAM (ZIKA). The desk in **Military Intelligence** responsible for watching the entire world, especially the superpowers, and assessing the implications on Israel.

WRATH OF GOD OPERATION. The **Munich massacre** of the Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympic Games shook the Israeli defense establishment to its very foundations, and the nation demanded vengeance. Prime Minister Golda Meir's government was indeed bent on revenge, and its first response was a massive air bombardment of **terrorist** bases in Lebanon. Three days after the massacre, the Israel Air Force launched an air raid involving approximately 75 aircraft, the largest such attack since the 1967 **Six-Day War**. Fighter-bombers struck terrorist targets in Lebanon and Syria, killing 66 and leaving hundreds injured. Israeli fighters even shot down three Syrian planes over the Golan Heights, with a loss of two of its own. Israeli troops were also ordered into Lebanon to engage Palestinian terrorists who had been mining Israeli roads. Despite this aggressive military response, a select group of high-ranking Israeli officials felt that more had to be done. They decided that a message should be sent not only to those who had perpetrated the Munich massacre, but also to those who might consider terrorist attacks against Israelis in the future, so that others might see and fear. This led to the decision to establish the so-called **Committee X**, chaired by Meir and Defense Minister

Moshe Dayan. The committee authorized the assassination of all the individuals involved, directly or indirectly, in the Munich massacre, listing 35 main assassination targets. The mission was assigned to several different Mossad teams formed by the chief of the Caesarea Division in the **Mossad**, **Michael (Mike) Harari**. It was carried out mainly by Kidon (Bayonet), an ultrasecret subunit of Caesarea.

The actions conducted to assassinate key Palestinian terrorist leaders were known unofficially as the Wrath of God Operation or the Sword of Gideon Operation. A general mobilization was declared in the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) and in **Unit 504** of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). For the purpose of the assassinations, the most talented intelligence-gathering officers were called up, including **Shmuel Goren**, chief of Queshet (an intelligence-gathering unit); Baruch Cohen; **Zadok Ophir**; **Raphael (Rafi) Sutton**; Eliezer (Geyzi) Tsafrir; and **Nahum Admoni**, chief of Tevel, the branch in charge of connections with foreign intelligence agencies.

Committee-X found the Mossad in Europe to have inadequate infrastructure, with the arm that was supposed to penetrate Arab communities throughout Europe being particularly weak. During the search for the terrorists involved in the Munich massacre, it emerged that of the eight terrorists who had taken part in the massacre, five had been killed by German police officers and three had been detained. After the hijacking of a Lufthansa airliner in October 1972, they were released and moved to Libya and then to Damascus, whereupon all traces of them were lost. As far as is known, they are still alive. However, about 20 other Palestinians with blood on their hands, or who had been involved in preparing acts of terror but were not necessarily connected to the Munich massacre, met their deaths in strange and mysterious ways.

In any event, the Munich massacre signified a real turning point in Israel's war on terror. This was the beginning of a war to the death against the terror organizations, and Israel sent the best of its people on a campaign of elimination and vengeance. One of the first targeted for assassination by the decision of Committee-X was a Black September Organization (BSO) member whose name and nickname are still classified, who arrived in Athens with the task of sending a cargo container filled with hidden explosives to the Haifa port, where it would be detonated by remote control. The Mossad received information about this plan, and its operatives left for

Athens, where they searched for the perpetrator at all the customs brokerages, hotels, and cafés. At last they discovered a female customs broker who was handling a cargo of raisins bound for Israel that, unbeknownst to her, held the concealed explosives. Documents were seized, and through them the Mossad agents located the storage depot where they hoped to find the "raisin bomb," but nothing was discovered. They did, however, reveal the man behind the shipment, who was then followed and shot dead outside his apartment building. BSO members concluded that the customs broker had given details about their comrade's activities to the Mossad, and they killed her.

According to George Jonas's book *Vengeance*, one of the teams assigned to assassinate Palestinian terrorists was headed by a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) officer, who was referred to in the book by the pseudonym "Avner." Avner's team, which consisted of five members, was granted autonomous authority and freedom of movement, yielding significant success in assassinating a list of Palestinians targeted by Committee-X. Yet, it is impossible to verify the existence of "Avner" and his specific team. The teams of Kidon, as it is better known today, were assigned to assassinate a list of targets:

1. **Kamal Adwan**, the chief of sabotage operations for the Fatah organization in the Occupied Territories
2. **Hussein Abad Al-Chir**, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) contact man with the Soviet KGB in Cyprus
3. **Mohammed Boudia**, the BSO liaison with the European PLO
4. Abu Daoud, a BSO member
5. Dr. Wadi Haddad, a chief terrorist linked with Dr. George Habash
6. **Mahmoud Hamshari**, a PLO member and coordinator of the Munich massacre
7. Dr. **Basil Raoud Kubaisi**, an official of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in charge of logistics
8. **Kamal Nasser**, the official PLO spokesman and a member of the PLO Executive Committee
9. **Ali Hassan Salameh**, a developer and executor of the assault on the Israeli athletes at Munich
10. **Abu Yussef**, a high-ranking PLO official
11. **Wael Zwaiter**, a PLO organizer of terror in Europe and Yasser Arafat's cousin

Kidon's teams succeeded in tracking down and killing only some of the targets on the list: Zwaiter on 6 October 1972; Hamshari on 8 October 1972; al-Chir on 24 January 1973; Kubaisi on 6 April 1973; and Boudia on 28 June 1973. After killing al-Chir, **Ziad Muchassi** replaced him as the PLO contact with the KGB and was later added to the target list. He was killed on 12 April 1973.

As for the other targets listed by Committee-X, six terrorists remained at large. Haddad was not traced by Israel, but he died of cancer on 28 March 1977 in an East Berlin hospital. Abu Daoud was arrested in Germany in March 1973 and confessed to his involvement in the Munich massacre. Adwan, Nasser, and Abu Yussef were killed in the **Spring of Youth Operation** by a covert commando raid on 9 April 1973, carried out as a joint Mossad-IDF mission. Salameh was killed on 22 January 1979 by a car bomb in Beirut by another Mossad team after two failed attempts, one in Lillehammer, Norway (8 December 1972), in the so-called **Lillehammer Affair**, and the other on 11 November 1974.

The hunt for the terrorists in the 1970s was conducted mainly in Europe. However, on 16 January 1976, urgent intelligence was received about a terrorist plot to fire a Strela surface-to-air missile at an El Al airliner due to make a stopover in Nairobi en route from South Africa to Israel. The airline was instructed to delay the plane's takeoff from South Africa without giving any reason. The terrorists were two Germans, Thomas Reuter and Birgitte Schultz, age 25, who had undergone training with the terrorist PFLP organization. Carrying false Cypriot passports, they were sighted and identified by Mossad operatives. In cooperation with the Kenyan police, the Germans were arrested and taken secretly to Israel, where they were tried by a military court and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Later the Israeli chief of the General Staff reduced their sentence to five years, and they were released in 1980 (*see also* MACKENZIE, BRUCE).

A high price for the Wrath of God Operation was paid by the Mossad personnel who collected intelligence data about those marked for elimination. For example, following an arranged meeting with a Palestinian in a café in Madrid, Baruch Cohen was shot by another Palestinian as he was leaving the café. Likewise, Zadok Ophir was gravely wounded in Brussels at his meeting with a dubious informer. Other members of the team that mistakenly killed Ahmad

Bouchiki in Lillehammer were arrested in Oslo, and four members of the team—Dan Arbel, **Marianne Gladnikoff**, **Sylvia Raphael**, and **Michael Dorf**—were sentenced to prison terms.

The Wrath of God Operation sent the imaginations of authors and scriptwriters into a whirl. The latest version, the movie *Munich* by Steven Spielberg, was released in December 2005. It deals with the hunt to the death for the planners and executors of the Munich massacre. The film largely disproves the claim that every person killed by the Mossad in the Wrath of God Operation was indeed involved in the massacre. It demonstrates that many terrorist leaders and operatives were eliminated not for revenge, but merely as examples.

– Y –

YA'ALON, MOSHE (1950–). The Israeli-born Ya'alon is also known by his nickname Bogey. He was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1968 and served in the Nahal Infantry Corps until his discharge from national service. In the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, he fought as a reserve soldier in the paratroop brigade in battles in the Suez Canal zone. After the war, he returned to military service as a regular in the airborne Nahal brigade and graduated from the IDF officers course. After receiving his commission, he held several command positions in the Paratroop Brigade. During the 1978 Litani Operation in Lebanon, Ya'alon commanded the Paratroop Reconnaissance Unit. From 1979 to 1982 Ya'alon served in the **Sayeret Matkal** elite unit and saw action in battles of the 1981 Peace for Galilee Operation in Lebanon. Thereafter he was appointed battalion commander and subsequently deputy brigade commander of the Paratroop Brigade. Toward the end of this command, he was wounded while on a mission in Lebanon.

In 1986 Ya'alon studied at the Command and Staff College at Kimberly in England. On returning to Israel, he was appointed commander of the Sayeret Matkal and promoted to the rank of colonel. He participated in an armor reorientation course in 1989–1990 and concurrently earned a bachelor's degree in political science at the University of Haifa. In February 1990 he was appointed commander of the Paratroop Brigade. Ya'alon was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in January 1992 and made commander of IDF Forces in the West

Bank, and then in August 1993 was appointed commander of the Field Units Training Center and commander of an armored division. In 1995 he was promoted to the rank of major general and appointed the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI). He served in this position until 1998, when he was made head of the Central Command. In 2000 Ya'alon was appointed deputy chief of the General Staff, and on 9 July 2002 was promoted to lieutenant general upon becoming the 17th IDF chief of the General Staff. Ya'alon ended this position and concluded his military service on 31 May 2005.

YA'ARI, AVIEZER (AVIK) (1930–). The Israeli-born son of Meir Ya'ari, a leader of the United Workers party (Mapam), Aviezer Ya'ari in 1948 joined the Haganah underground militia. After the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948, he fought in the War of Independence. During the 1967 **Six-Day War**, Ya'ari served in the reserves as the intelligence officer of the Eighth Brigade, which took part in the battles in the Sinai Desert. After the war, he remained in the regular army and was appointed head of **Branch 5**, the Syria and Lebanon desk in **Military Intelligence** (MI), with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Ya'ari, contrary to the prevailing view in MI, believed that Syria in a coordinated move with Egypt intended to launch a war against Israel. Because Ya'ari connected Syrian intentions with Egyptian intentions, the key role in formulating the assessment regarding the likelihood of war was given to the head of **Branch 6** (the Egyptian desk), Lieutenant Colonel **Yonah Bendman**.

On the evening of 25 September 1973, two weeks before the outbreak of the **Yom Kippur War**, Lieutenant Colonel **Zusia Knizer** conveyed to Ya'ari the contents of **King Hussein's warning** that Syria, in coordination with Egypt, intended to start a war against Israel. Knizer was not authorized to convey Hussein's message to anyone because of its secrecy. Ya'ari was not authorized to convey it either, but immediately after learning its content he treated it with the utmost seriousness and passed the warning on to the intelligence officer of the Northern Command, Lieutenant Colonel Hagai Mann. Again on 30 September, following new information, he delivered a warning to Mann and to the commander of 252 Division in the Sinai Desert, Major General Albert Mendler; for this act, he was reprimanded by his commander, Brigadier General **Aryeh Shalev**. Fol-

lowing the reprimand, he downgraded the profile of providing early warnings. However, the **Agranat Commission** later praised his deed since it contributed in some way to alerting the Northern Command.

In 1976 and 1977 Ya'ari served as intelligence officer of the Northern Command; then he was promoted to brigadier general and became head of the Research Division in MI, a post he held until 1982. In spring 1981 the Research Division was required by the Israeli government to prepare a study on the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Because the director of MI, Major General **Yehoshua Saguy**, was abroad at the time, Ya'ari was invited to attend the cabinet meeting on the subject, where he presented his division's assessment of potential danger. Based on a rigorous study, Ya'ari portrayed the impending threat in the blackest of colors. This assessment contributed to the government's decision to bomb the Iraqi reactor in the **Opera Operation** on 7 June 1981. Saguy had a different opinion about the potential threat of the Iraqi reactor; had he been in Israel at that time, he would probably have vetoed Ya'ari's assessment.

On 10 May 1982 Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon presented to the government a wide-ranging military operation planned for Lebanon known as "Little Pine Trees." This was an alternative to an all-out assault right up to Beirut, known as "Big Pine Trees," which had been previously proposed by the defense minister; the change was due to objections by a majority of ministers. Ya'ari, again standing in for the absent Saguy, assessed that even "Little Pine Trees" would still mean war with Syria. Although "Little Pine Trees" was approved by the government, when Peace for Galilee Operation started in June 1982 it ballooned into a large-scale operation.

In 1982, after Peace for Galilee Operation, Ya'ari was promoted to major general and was appointed commander of the National Security College. He served in this position until 1987, when he retired from the Israel Defense Forces. As a civilian, he chaired the Security Division in the State Comptroller's Office (1987–2000), after which he retired from public life.

YADIN-SHERF COMMISSION. This commission was set up in 1963 by Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion to look into the structure and functioning of the entire Israeli intelligence community in light of the 1954 **Bad Business** in Egypt and the clash over the German scientists in that country in the **Damocles Operation**. The commission

presented its recommendations on 31 July 1963, advising that the intelligence research of the Foreign Ministry be strengthened, the **Mossad** be given more scope to develop its own intelligence assessments, and a special adviser to the prime minister on intelligence and security be appointed, who with a small but highly skilled staff would be able to assess the assessors. In all, this actually was a recommendation for pluralism in the Israeli intelligence community. Few of the recommendations of the Yadin-Sherf Commission were implemented, however. The **Agranat Commission** in 1973–1974 reiterated the recommendation for pluralism, and then it was partially implemented.

YADLIN, AMOS (1951–). Yadlin, born in Israel, is the son of a former Israeli education minister, Aharon Yadlin. Amos Yadlin was drafted into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in 1970 and became a pilot in the Israel Air Force (IAF) in 1972. As an F-16 pilot, he participated in the **Opera Operation** of bombing the Iraqi nuclear reactor on 7 June 1981. In 1993–1994 he studied public administration at Harvard University. In 1998 Yadlin was appointed head of the **Air Intelligence Squadron**. He served in this position until 2000, when he was appointed IAF chief of staff. In 2002 he was made commander of IDF colleges with a promotion to major general. Yadlin was posted to the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C., as military attaché in 2004. In June 2005 he was appointed director of **Military Intelligence**, replacing Major General Aharon Ze'evi at the beginning of 2006.

YAKHIN OPERATION. The code name of an operation planned jointly by the **Mossad** and the Israeli Navy to transport Moroccan Jews to Israel illegally, "Yakhin" was the name of one of the two main pillars that supported the Temple in Jerusalem at the time of King Solomon. The plan of bringing Moroccan Jews to Israel was executed successfully, though not without great risk and cost in lives. Three times in a short period toward the end of the 1950s, **Shmuel Toledano** of the Mossad and his team landed from small boats at predetermined locations on the Moroccan coast and went to Jewish villages. Toledano was disguised as a Palestinian refugee, speaking only Arabic. He was in great danger of being captured. On each of the three occasions, under the cover of darkness he and his men knocked on the doors of Jewish families who lived as in ancient

times. Toledano and his men offered to help them to go to Israel. In a typical operation, within just three hours several families, with their children and meager possessions in bundles, were ready to leave; generally they first insisted on going to the cemetery to take leave of the dead rabbi there, begging forgiveness for abandoning him. Then they proceeded to the beach and with great trepidation stepped into small boats that transferred them to the large navy ship waiting farther offshore. The voyages were often perilous. Sometimes the travelers had to return to the village because the sea was too rough. They would endure the entire process again when better conditions prevailed.

After nearly two years of this clandestine operation, approximately 10,000 Jews had successfully been brought to Israel. On 11 January 1961 one of the boats, the *Egoz*, carrying some 44 Moroccan Jewish refugees, sank in the high seas between Morocco and Israel. This tragic occurrence received worldwide publicity concerning the plight of the Moroccan Jews. Subsequently, Israel asked the governments of France and the United States, as well as the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) based in New York, to exert pressure on Morocco.

After King Hassan was crowned in Morocco in early February 1961 he showed a great interest in getting Western support, and therefore he changed his policy on letting the Jews immigrate from Morocco. As a result of a meeting held in Paris between representatives of King Hassan, the Jewish Agency, the Mossad, the French government, and HAIS, the king allowed the Moroccan Jews to leave Morocco and go to France. The king appointed his strongman, General Muhammad Ofkir, to work with France and Israel to accomplish this mission. The Israeli government agreed to pay $250,000 for each 1,000 "collective passports." The ships sailed from Casablanca to France, and from there the Moroccan Jews proceeded to Israel under the Israeli government responsibility. The tragic sinking of the *Egoz* with all aboard thus had the positive effect of accelerating the Jewish immigration out of Morocco to Israel.

The operation, while still not completely legal, had the tacit approval of the countries involved and the cooperation of King Hassan. Mossad agents visited almost every Jewish neighborhood in Morocco, persuading the Jews to leave Morocco for Israel, but their response was not as great as it was during the previous clandestine operation.

The Mossad agents instructed them how to reach the rendezvous points from where they were taken by trucks to Moroccan ports where ships and airplanes picked them up. Under the aegis of the Yakhin Operation, more than 80,000 Moroccan Jews ultimately immigrated to Israel. The Israeli-Moroccan cooperation also yielded an unexpected by-product in Tunisia, where another 1,000 Jews sailed from the coast of Bizerte to Israel on French warships arranged by the Mossad. *See also* MISGERET.

YAKOBIAN, KABURAK. An Armenian Egyptian who underwent basic training in espionage tradecraft to be applied in Israel, Yakobian was given detailed information about the life in Israel and Jewish religious customs. He was even provided with photographs of "relatives" and "mother in her grave." At the end of 1960 Yakobian acquired a refugee certificate from the United Nations in Cairo and in March 1961 left for Brazil. There he obtained the identity card of a Turkish-born Jew named Yitzhak "Zaki" Kucuk. With the help of the Jewish Agency in Brazil, he immigrated to Israel in December 1961 under his false identity. Yakobian had been thoroughly prepared for his spying mission. He went to Hebrew language classes like all new immigrants. Following the instructions of his Egyptian handlers, he volunteered for national service in the Israel Defense Forces in the armored corps. His application was rejected, however, and instead he became a truck driver in a transport unit, a useless post for espionage. His rejection from the armored corps was because he had been under surveillance almost from the day of his arrival in Israel. The **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) discovered that he was using invisible ink to correspond with his Egyptian handlers in Europe. In December 1963 Yakobian was arrested by the ISA and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment. He was released in 1966 in a deal with the Egyptians in exchange for three Israeli prisoners in an Egyptian jail.

YAM 4. *See* NAVAL INTELLIGENCE SQUADRON.

YARIV, AHARON (1920–1994). Born in Moscow, Yariv immigrated to Palestine in 1935, where he was known by his nickname Arele. He joined the Haganah militia in 1939. During World War II, he served in the British army with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He became adjutant to the Haganah chief of staff in 1947. During Israel's 1948–1949

War of Independence, Yariv served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) as deputy battalion commander in the Alexandroni Brigade and battalion commander in the Carmel Brigade. He fought in battles in the north of Israel and in the conquest of Nazareth. He became section head in the Operations Department of the General Staff in 1951. Yariv headed the team that established the Command and Staff School (1952–1954) and served as its first commander (1954–1956). He was chief of staff of the Central Command in 1957, and thereafter military attaché at the Israeli embassies in the United States and Canada (1957–1960). Upon returning from the United States, he became commander of the Golani Brigade (1960–1961). Yariv served as director of **Military Intelligence** from 1964 until 1972.

After retiring from the IDF in 1972, Yariv became an adviser on **terrorism** to Prime Minister Golda Meir (1972–1973). During the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**, Yariv performed IDF reserve duty as a special assistant to the chief of the General Staff, and shortly after the war he conducted the disengagement negotiations with Egypt. He served as a member of the Knesset (1974–1977) and, in his last position, Yariv headed the **Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies** at Tel Aviv University (1977–1994).

YASSIN, ADNAN. Yassin was a deputy to the Palestinian ambassador in Tunisia, Hakam Bala'wi, and later Yasser Arafat's security chief. He was recruited to the **Mossad** in Europe under a "false flag," believing he was working for NATO instead of Israel. The ploy was as follows. In Paris in 1990 Yassin met an Egyptian, Abu Hilmi, apparently a Mossad agent. Yassin told Abu Hilmi about his financial problems due to his sick wife having to undergo expensive medical treatment in Europe. Abu Hilmi introduced Yassin to "George," a Mossad case officer, who presented himself as a wealthy Lebanese businessman working for NATO.

George asked Yassin for updated information on the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), then headquartered in Tunis, for payment. Initially the sum was fairly substantial, but after the "fish was landed," the amounts dwindled. Yassin was no longer in a position to refuse; if he did not provide the merchandise, his handler could expose him to the Palestinians. At one of their meetings, George suggested that Yassin, as a "gesture" to his boss Arafat, take him an orthopedic chair: it was well known that he suffered back pains after

surviving an airplane crash in the Libyan Desert in April 1992. The chair was equipped with a sophisticated monitoring device. In addition, Yassin utilized Arafat's absence to install a monitoring system in Arafat's desk lamp. Not surprisingly, therefore, when Israel decided to kill **Abu Jihad**, every detail of the security arrangements and the entrances to his villa was known to the Mossad.

Yassin would probably never have been found out but for the fact that after the 1993 Oslo Accords he aroused the suspicions of the French police when he frequently drove to Paris in his car. He was suspected of resisting the Oslo Accords peace process. In a search of his car, the French police found high-tech communications equipment. He was handed over to the PLO in Tunis. Nothing helped when he insisted that he had never betrayed the Palestinians to Israel, which he wholeheartedly believed. He was executed by the PLO in September 1993.

Conspiracy stories maintain that as a gesture of good faith to Arafat, Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres blew Yassin's cover, and as a result Yassin's car was searched. The Yassin case serves as a good example of Israel's use of the "false flag" technique, which was also used on **Jack Leon Thomas**.

YATOM, DANNY (1945–). Born in Israel, Yatom served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in various command positions, eventually reaching the rank of major general. His last position in the IDF was as military secretary to Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1992–1996). In 1996 Yatom was appointed to direct the **Mossad**. He was the first director whose name was known from the moment he was appointed; until then, the IDF censor had strictly prohibited publication of the identity of the director of the Mossad and the director of the **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA). During Yatom's directorship, the Mossad experienced the debacle of the **Khaled Mash'al Fiasco**, a failed assassination attempt in Jordan on a leader of the Hamas terror organization. Yatom's brother, **Ehud Yatom**, also served in the intelligence community and was a senior ISA officer. Danny Yatom holds a bachelor's degree in mathematics, physics, and computer science from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. After resigning from the Mossad, Yatom became chairman of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Netanya College. He lectures on foreign affairs and defense issues within the IDF and at various conferences. Yatom is a member of the Labor party and has served as a member of the Knesset since 2003.

YATOM, EHUD (1948–). A former **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) officer with rank equivalent to major general in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), Yatom's reputation became tarnished following the 1984 **Bus 300 Affair**. Under his command, two terrorists who hijacked the bus and surrendered to Israeli forces were later killed. Yatom maintained that it was standard practice in 1984 that no terrorist who took hostages would escape alive. In 1986 Yatom received a presidential pardon before ever being tried, in an unprecedented legal procedure. He continued to serve the ISA in the most senior positions until 1997.

In June 2001 Prime Minister Ariel Sharon appointed Yatom as his adviser on counterterrorism. This move provoked a storm of protest and a petition to the Israeli Supreme Court from members of the left-wing Meretz party. In December 2001 the Supreme Court ruled that Yatom could no longer serve in this office because of his role in the Bus 300 Affair. In 2003 he was elected a member of the Knesset on the Likud party list. He is a member of several Knesset committees, including the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.

YEHONATHAN OPERATION. Originally named the Entebbe Operation and also known as the Thunderball Operation or Thunderbolt Operation; later named for Lieutenant Colonel Yehonathan "Yoni" Netanyahu, who was killed during the operation. It took place on the night of 3/4 July 1976.

On 27 June 1976, Air France flight 139 with 246 passengers from Tel Aviv's Ben- Gurion Airport to Paris was hijacked after taking off from its stopover in Athens. It was diverted to Benghazi airport in Libya and then forced to take off again and fly to Entebbe, Uganda.

The hijackers were eight members of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and two members of the Baader-Meinhof **terrorist** gang. They were apparently supported by the Ugandan regime of the pro-Palestinian dictator Idi Amin. From Entebbe, the hijackers demanded that the government of Israel release convicted Palestinian terrorist murderers, setting a deadline of 30 June.

In principle, the government of Israel is against any kind of bargaining with hijackers or meeting their demands even partially. To do so might serve as a precedent for further hijacking attempts. The alternative course, a rescue attempt by means of a military operation, was opposed by certain Israeli ministers because insufficient intelligence was available. The IDF chief of the General Staff (CGS),

Lieutenant General Mordechai Gur, was also reluctant to recommend a military rescue operation unless relevant and updated intelligence was gathered.

The only information at hand was about the terminal at Entebbe Airport; this was obtained from the Israeli construction firm Solel Boneh, which had constructed the building in the 1960s. In that decade and the next, it had been very common for Israeli firms to be involved in building projects in Africa. Solel Boneh still had the blueprint of the terminal and sent it to the Israeli government at once. But this intelligence was insufficient. The Israeli government decided speedily to collect relevant and updated intelligence for a rescue operation. At the request of the Israeli government, the CGS assigned to Colonel **Ehud Barak**, assistant for operations to the director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), the mission of assembling this intelligence.

While planning the military rescue operation, the Israeli government stated its readiness to pursue several political paths for the release of the hostages. This move was merely a ploy to gain time for acquiring more intelligence on the situation and planning the rescue operation. Major General Rehavam Ze'evi, then the special adviser on intelligence to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, was dispatched to Paris with a list of terrorists that Israel said it might be ready to release. Ze'evi was to manage negotiations with the terrorists through French mediation. As the negotiations proceeded, the hijackers extended the ultimatum to 4 July.

The hijacked passengers were held in the old terminal's transit hall. The terrorists subsequently freed a large number of them, keeping only Israelis and Jews, whom they threatened to kill if the Israeli government did not comply with their demand to release Palestinian prisoners. The released passengers would fly out on a different Air France plane that was sent to Entebbe for that purpose.

The hijackers said they would free the airplane's crew, too. However, Michel Bacos, the captain of flight 139, told the hijackers that all passengers, including those still held, were his responsibility; he would not leave them behind. His entire crew, down to the most junior flight attendant, stayed with him of their own free will. In total, 103 Israeli hostages (men, women, and children) and French crew members remained in Entebbe airport.

Following the release of the non-Israeli and non-Jewish hostages, Lieutenant Colonel **Amiram Levine**, a reserve officer in the Collec-

tion Department of MI, was dispatched to Paris with Lieutenant Colonel Amnon Biran to collect all possible information from the erstwhile hostages. Arriving in Paris on 1 July 1976, they were taken by **Mossad** case officers to the hotels where the returnees were staying. Most of the hostages were tired and confused and remembered few details, but there were two exceptions, with phenomenal memories, who provided relevant and accurate information. One of these was a retired French parachute officer, who during his stay in the terminal had planned his escape; he took note of the most relevant details—locations of doors and windows, entrances and exits, the hijackers' security procedures and their positions. He, together with **Michele Cojot**, provided details of the hijackers' habits, the internal division of the terminal's halls, the location of the hostages, and the places of the explosives planted by the hijackers.

While planning the military operation, the IDF built a partial replica of the airport building. Some Israeli civilians who worked on the reconstruction of the replica had worked on the project itself in Uganda. These civilians were formally sworn to absolute secrecy.

After several days of collecting intelligence and careful planning, four C-130 Hercules transport aircraft flew to Entebbe airport and night-landed without any aid from the ground. The mission of the personnel on board was to free the remaining hostages. They were followed by an Israeli Air Force jet with medical facilities that flew into Nairobi, Kenya. More than 100 Israeli troops, including members of the elite **Sayeret Matkal** team, arrived to conduct the assault. Some Mossad operatives might also have taken part, providing assistance on the ground.

The aircraft landed an hour before midnight on 3 July 1976, with the cargo bay doors already open. A black Mercedes with accompanying jeeps were brought, to divert attention: this cavalcade would hopefully be taken to signify the arrival of a high Ugandan official with his escort, possibly Idi Amin himself. The Mercedes was owned by an Israeli civilian and was apparently spray-painted black for the raid, on the understanding it would be returned to the owner in its original color. The Israeli troops drove from the aircraft to the terminal building.

The raid took place during the early hours of 4 July 1976 and lasted only about three minutes. Six or eight terrorists were killed. All the

hostages in the terminal were released alive, except for one who was killed when he leaped at the Israeli forces. Another hostage, 75-year-old Dora Bloch, who was recovering from a choking episode in a Kampala hospital on the night of the raid, was left in Uganda and was later murdered by two Ugandan army officers. Ugandan forces opened fire on the Israeli troops, killing Lieutenant Colonel Yehonathan Netanyahu. Forty-five Ugandan soldiers were killed during the raid; Ugandan fighter planes parked on the ramp were also put out of action. Shortly after the fighting ended, the rescued hostages were flown out via Nairobi to Israel.

One of the factors behind the good planning of the raid was excellent intelligence. The success of the Yehonathan Operation was due to the first-class troops of Sayeret Matkal, but also, and no less important, to the essential information obtained by Israeli intelligence. The Mossad's Kenyan connection was vital as well for setting up a forward base. For Israeli intelligence, the successful rescue from Entebbe airport a little less than three years after the failure to provide an early warning on the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War** afforded a major boost to morale. *See also* MACKENZIE, BRUCE.

YOM KIPPUR WAR. The launching of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973 took Israel wholly by surprise and placed the country's security—and even its survival—in jeopardy. True, by the war's end the Israeli army had turned the tables and both Cairo and Damascus were under military threat, but this in no way diminished the shock that still stunned the nation in the aftermath of the fighting. How could such a disaster have happened? Israel was thought to be more or less "invincible" in the minds of many of its military and political leaders. That self-confidence rapidly dissipated as a consequence of the war. Much of the blame fell on the shoulders of the intelligence community, which was charged with not accurately assessing distinct information that Egypt and Syria planned to go to war on 6 October 1973.

Aftermath of the Six-Day War and War of Attrition. Israel's victory in the 1967 **Six-Day War** had extended its control across all the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. Israel set up electronic eavesdropping and early warning stations on the frontier with Jordan along the Jordan River Valley, on the frontier with Syria on Mount Hermon in the Golan Heights, and on the fron-

tier with Egypt along the east bank of the Suez Canal, from which Egyptian forces on the other side could be observed.

By 1969 the Israel Air Force (IAF) was using drones to photograph and monitor Egyptian, Syrian, and later Jordanian troops. In July that year the IAF was called on to engage in deep penetration bombing in the Nile Valley in response to Egypt's persistence in its declared **War of Attrition** against Israel. In response to the Israeli raids, Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser asked the Soviet Union for help in defending Egyptian airspace. The Soviet response was rapid, and batteries of surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), including the latest SAM-3s, with Soviet crews and squadrons of MiG-21 fighter jets with Soviet pilots and ground crews were dispatched. The Soviets used their MiGs to cover the Egyptian troops along the Suez Canal; they also moved their SAM batteries as close to the Israeli positions as possible. At first, the IAF refrained from engaging the Soviet-piloted MiGs. This changed in July 1970, when in a dogfight over Suez Canal the IAF shot down four or five Soviet MiGs.

With the Soviets deeply involved in the defense of Egypt—almost to the point of a direct military clash with Israel—the United States became concerned about a strategic conflagration; American diplomats negotiated a cease-fire, known as the Rogers Initiative, which went into effect on 7 August 1970. One of its elements was a freeze on Egyptian and Israeli redeployments as of that day. However, Egypt breached this part of the agreement the very next day, moving its Soviet antiaircraft batteries closer to the banks of the Suez Canal. The Soviet Union and Egypt gambled that Israel would not respond so soon after the cease-fire had gone into effect—and they were proved right: Israel did nothing. This decision not to act was to have a telling effect three years later, when Egyptian antiaircraft batteries along the Suez Canal pounded the IAF in the first days of the Yom Kippur War.

Intelligence Failures before the War. By mid-1973 **Military Intelligence** (MI) was very much aware of the Arab war plans. Regarding Egyptian strategy, MI had received information that the Egyptian Second and Third armies would attempt to cross the Suez Canal and penetrate about 6 miles (10 kilometers) into the Israeli-held Sinai. Following the infantry assault, Egyptian armored divisions would then cross the Suez Canal and advance as far as the Mitla and Gidi passes—strategic crossing points for any army in the Sinai Peninsula.

Egyptian naval units and paratroopers would then try to take Sharm al-Sheikh at the southern end of the Sinai Peninsula. MI was also aware of many details of the Syrian war plans.

These war plans notwithstanding, the MI analysts estimated that Egypt had no intention of actually going to war against Israel. Even when all signs indicated that Egypt and Syria were prepared for war the Israeli military intelligence experts maintained their position—in fact, almost until the very day the war broke out.

The main reason for this intelligence failure, which caused Israeli leaders to be caught completely by surprise, was that from 1969 almost until the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War the MI's analysis was based on an unwavering **Concept**—that, in the prevailing circumstances, the Arabs were unwilling to go to war against Israel. The Concept was based on minutes of Egyptian government sessions provided to the **Mossad** by Nasser's son-in-law, **Marwan Ashraf**. According to these documents, the Egyptian government was so overwhelmed by the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War that it believed that its army would be unable to overcome Israel until Egypt received from the Soviet Union long-range Sukhoi aircraft and Scud missiles. The possession of this weaponry might enable the Egyptian Army to overcome Israeli forces, especially Israeli air superiority, and even serve as a deterrent factor for the time being.

Moreover, Anwar Sadat, who became president of Egypt after the death of Nasser in September 1970, used a kind of "cry wolf" tactic, frequently declaring in public that 1971 would be "the Year of Decision"; yet there was no war that year. In 1972 Sadat continued to threaten aggression against Israel; there was no war that year either. Then in April 1973 Ashraf provided an early warning that by the end of April, later revised to May, Egypt would launch a war; again, April and May 1973 passed uneventfully, except for a small-scale mobilization of Israeli reserves. What's more, this mobilization had been costly and, as it turned out, unnecessary at the time except perhaps for deterrence.

What no one in Israel knew was that Sadat had resolved to wait no longer for the Sukhois and Scuds. He would go to war with the protection of heavy SAMs and artillery.

In April and May 1973, a full six months before the coordinated Egyptian and Syrian attacks on the Sinai Peninsula and Golan fronts, MI had received the warning from Ashraf on an Egyptian plan to

launch a war. The MI analysts realized that Sadat had the necessary divisions prepared to cross the Suez Canal, the necessary bridging gear, and SAMs to protect the operation from the penetrating raids of the IAF. But the Concept was so rooted in intelligence thinking that the director of Military Intelligence (DMI), Major General **Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira**, still maintained that there was a **low probability** of war. This prognosis might have been correct in the spring and summer of 1973, but it was completely wrong in the fall.

In August 1973 the Syrian army carried out a massive deployment of troops and weaponry along the Golan front, accompanied by a dense SAM network, which covered the airspace over the Golan Heights as well as the Syrian divisions. The MI analysts dismissed this deployment as being defensive against Israeli air strikes. Nothing further occurred at that time, but on 13 September 1973 IAF jets were attacked during a reconnaissance mission over Syrian territory. The IAF planes shot down 12 Syrian aircraft and suffered one loss. This naturally reinforced the military belief that the Arabs would not attack due to Israel's once-again proven air capability.

King Hussein's warning to Israeli prime minister Golda Meir on 25 September that the Syrian army was ready and Syria intended to go to war against Israel was barely credited by the MI analysts. The Concept still dominated all thinking: Egypt was not planning to go to war without Sukhois and Scuds, and Syria would not attack without Egypt. Therefore, Syrian intentions could not really be aggressive. This view held even after U.S. intelligence provided the Mossad on the night of 29/30 September with its assessment that a combined Egyptian-Syrian attack was possible. Israel replied that it was not something to worry about. In fact, some time after the 13 September air battle, and after the meeting between Hussein and Meir, DMI Zeira asserted that Egypt would not contemplate even a war of attrition against Israel before the end of 1975. The Egyptian military buildup continued to be explained away as a practice exercise without harmful intentions. Syrian deployments should have given even more cause for concern. After 13 September, Syrian reinforcements were sent to the Golan Heights, furloughs were canceled, reserve troops were called up, and a state of alert in Syria was declared.

King Hussein of Jordan was the most senior source who provided Israel with an early warning, although he was not an Israeli agent. Human

intelligence (HUMINT) had a key part in contributing information to MI, in addition to signals intelligence (SIGINT) and imagery intelligence (IMINT). The identities of the various HUMINT sources are still top secret, and for good reason, but public sources later revealed Ashraf as the Mossad's Top Source. Admiral **Fulvio Martini**, a previous director of the Italian Naval Intelligence, was very close to the Mossad; when traveling to Arab countries he would carry a concealed camera to photograph Arab military installations for the Israelis. One of the Mossad operators was a professor of languages who flew into Israel on 4 October, bringing photocopies of the Egyptian-Syrian war plan bearing the code name of war, "Badr Operation"; the identification of this source has not been revealed. **Ibrahim Shahin**, an Egyptian, provided confirmatory-type warnings about the Egyptian army movements in the Suez Canal zone; Sahin was arrested by Egyptian authorities after the war and sentenced to death.

In September and early October 1973, when Egypt was obviously preparing for war, Israeli military intelligence remained locked in the iron grip of the Concept that Egypt still had no intention of actually launching a war. This sense had been reinforced throughout much of 1973 by Egyptian ministers in their contacts with Western governments avowing their country's peaceful intentions. Even more effective than the diplomatic ploy was Egyptian military deception. Reports were issued of instructions to cadets at military colleges to resume their courses on 9 October, and officers were given leave to make the pilgrimage to Mecca on 4 October. The Egyptian press and radio announced that 20,000 reservists had been demobilized. Immediately before the assault on the morning of 6 October the Egyptians deployed special squads of troops along the Suez Canal; their task was to move about without helmets, weapons, or shirts, to swim and fish in the canal, and eat oranges, reinforcing the image of unpreparedness. Syria also engaged in political deception, though far less than Egypt. For example, Radio Damascus announced on 4 October that President Hafiz Assad would begin a nine-day tour of Syria's eastern provinces on 10 October.

To maintain secrecy, the presidents of Egypt and Syria did not reveal their intention of launching a war against Israel even to their senior officers. In Egypt, President Sadat and his minister of war, Ismail Ali, kept the war plans to themselves alone until 1 October. In Syria

only 10 people knew of the impending assault on Israel; they included President Assad, his minister of war and commander-in-chief, the director of operations, the Syrian DMI, the commander of the air force, and the commander of the antiaircraft defense networks. Egyptian corps and division commanders, and the equivalent general staff officers, were told of the war on 1 October at a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Egyptian Armed Forces. Their Syrian counterparts learned of the war the day it was to start at a similar meeting in Damascus. Brigade and battalion commanders in both armies learned of the imminent offensive only on 5 October or the following morning, the actual day of the attack. The vast majority of Egyptian and Syrian officers and troops learned that they were going into battle only an hour or two before the assault. Because Egypt and Syria were aware of Israeli SIGINT capabilities, the two countries decided to refrain completely from exchanging messages by telephone, radiotelephone, or cable.

The date set for the Egyptian-Syrian assault, 6 October, was chosen only on 12 September or perhaps even as late as 1 or 2 October. In any event, the final timing of the attack—2:00 P.M.—was not decided until 3 October. The Syrians preferred an assault at dawn with the sun behind them; the Egyptians preferred sunset. The compromise struck was 2:00 P.M.

On the Israeli side, unlike DMI Zeira, who was convinced that there was a low probability of an Egyptian-Syrian war being launched against Israel, the director of the Mossad, **Zvi Zamir**, was less dismissive of Arab intentions.

Syrian deployments on the Golan Heights in September 1973 were worrying enough for Israel to send extra infantry and tanks to the Golan at the end of that month. These reinforcements, slight as they were, were to make all the difference between holding the line and utter defeat and the invasion of northern Israel on the first day of the war. Yet even these reinforcements were not easy to authorize. Zamir continued to express his concern over the Syrian buildup, contrary to Zeira's tranquilizing assessment of the situation as late as 3 October. Zamir apparently tried to alert Meir to the situation, but the prime minister told him to talk to Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. The latter was influenced by his own optimistic assessments as well as those of the MI and was slow to call up reserves.

At about 2:00 A.M. on 5 October, Zamir got a phone call from the Mossad's case officer in London, who was in contact with Marwan Ashraf. The latter had given him the code word "**tsnon**," signifying an immediate unleashing of war, but insisted on providing more details only to the Mossad's director in person. Early in the morning of 5 October Zamir flew to London for the meeting.

At 3:45 A.M. on 6 October Zamir called Zeira from the Israeli embassy in London on an open phone line due to the absence of a cipher clerk; no clerks were available because of the Yom Kippur break. Zamir conveyed Zeira Ashraf's message that war would start that day before sunset and that the attack would be combined and simultaneous, by Egyptian and Syrian forces at once. It is possible, as Zeira subsequently and repeatedly insisted, that Ashraf deliberately gave a different timing for the war's start because he was a double agent. It makes more sense to believe that Ashraf did know the exact timing of the war as he had left Egypt for Europe, and then London, on 2 October, a day before the two presidents, Sadat and Assad, decided on the hour to start the war.

Events of the Yom Kippur War. The attack did not begin at 6:00 P.M. as predicted by Marwan Ashwraf the day before the war, however; it began at 1:55 P.M., and Israel was woefully unprepared. On the Golan Heights 1,400 Syrian tanks and more than 1,000 artillery pieces faced 177 Israeli tanks and 50 artillery pieces—and even those few were there only due to the last-minute partial call-up of reserves. In the south, the Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal, easily overcoming Israeli defenses, and as planned established a bridgehead about 6 miles (10 kilometers) into the Sinai Peninsula.

Israel fought a tenacious battle on the Golan and turned the near-defeat of 6 October into the recapture of almost all of the Golan by the evening of the next day. Nevertheless, Syria's rapid advance toward the Sea of Galilee and Israel's northern settlements unleashed fear that will be hard for Israel ever to forget.

On the Sinai front, Egypt almost had the Mitla and Gidi passes open before them before sufficient Israeli reserves arrived to defend Israel's southern borders. An additional failure of MI before the war, besides not providing early warning, was its grave underestimation of the lethal

effectiveness of the Soviet-made Sagger antitank missiles, which the Egyptian infantry used to devastating effect against Israeli armor, and the SAMs the Egyptians and the Syrians used against the IAF.

King Hussein, despite concern for Arab solidarity, kept his own front with Israel completely quiet during the war. Israel was thus able to leave a skeleton force of a mere 28 tanks on the Jordan River boundary, enabling its army and air force to concentrate on the immediate Syrian and Egyptian threats. In those theaters, MI had impressive successes. Field intelligence officers picked up on certain changes that occurred on the battlefield during the war. One of the successes was the prediction two days in advance of the start of the second stage of the Egyptian offensive. This information was provided by MI to the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General David Elazar, on 12 October. On 16–17 October MI's SIGINT department succeeded in tracking the Egyptian 25th Armored Brigade as it made its way northward from the Third Army enclave toward the Israeli crossing zone. This early warning information contributed to the decision of Major General Ariel Sharon to set a two-brigade trap along the shore of the Great Bitter Lake. The result was that the 25th Brigade was almost completely destroyed with few Israeli casualties.

The most important information obtained by the field intelligence officers was the "seam" between the Egyptian Second Army, which had crossed the Suez Canal around Ismailia, and the Third Army to the south, which had crossed between the Suez and the Bitter Lake. The seam was the most vulnerable point of the Egyptian forces, and through this seam the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) reached the Suez Canal at Dier Suweir on 15 October and crossed over to the west bank of the canal. This was the beginning of the collapse of the Egyptian forces. MI, by means of SIGINT, also collected information on the location of the 47th Syrian Armored Brigade.

Still, it was mainly the courage, ingenuity, and leadership of the armed forces on Israel's southern and northern fronts that enabled Israel to turn the tide of battle. This occurred within two days on the Golan front. In the Sinai it took more than a week, but by mid-October it was the IDF that was on the offensive, pummeling Egyptian armor; Israeli troops had crossed to the west bank of the Suez Canal to destroy Egypt's defenses from the rear. By late October both Cairo and Damascus were

exposed to an Israeli advance. Only dire Soviet threats and superpower intervention brought hostilities to an end and protected Egypt and Syria from certain and utter defeat.

MI's failure to give early warning—known popularly as the **mehdal**—still merits study as to the question of whether such early warning can in fact be provided at all.

– Z –

ZA'AFRAN, MEIR YOSEF (1928–). An Egyptian-born Jew, Za-'afran was recruited by Major **Avraham Dar** of **Unit 131** to the Alexandria cell of the Jewish espionage network in Egypt. He was arrested together with the other members of the espionage network following the **Bad Business**. He was found guilty and sentenced to seven years in prison. On completing his term in 1962, Za'afran was released and was allowed to leave Egypt. He made his way to Israel. On 30 March 2005 Za'afran was accorded recognition by Israeli president Moshe Katsav and the chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General **Moshe Ya'alon**, for his services to the state behind enemy lines and for his years of suffering.

ZAMIR, ZVI (1925–). Born in Poland, Zamir immigrated to Palestine and in 1942 joined the Palmah militia. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, he joined the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and served in many command and training positions. In 1960 he was promoted to major general and became the head of IDF training. Zamir was appointed military attaché to Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries in 1966. On completion of that assignment, he resigned from the IDF. In 1968 he was appointed director of the **Mossad**, a position he held until 1974. Following the **Munich massacre** of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games, the Mossad, under Zamir's directorship, launched the **Wrath of God Operation**. One of the failures of this operation was the killing of an innocent Moroccan waiter in Norway known as the **Lillehammer Affair**.

Under his directorship Zamir and the Mossad did not perform any formal function in intelligence assessment. Yet because the Mossad, through its Tsomet wing, was responsible for collecting human intelligence (HUMINT), Zamir often made his assessments before Prime

Minister Golda Meir and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan on the likelihood of the outbreak of war. Zamir's assessment was different from that of the director of the **Military Intelligence**. In April 1973, at a cabinet meeting in the prime minister's private residence, Zamir assessed that the preconditions for the start of a war on the part of Egypt were coming into being.

Following **King Hussein's warning** to Meir on 25 September 1973, Zamir again assessed that a war was imminent. He described to Meir the situation on Israel's front lines and stated that the IDF was unprepared to respond if war started. On 5 October 1973 at 2:30 A.M., Zamir took a phone call from his case officer in London: **Marwan Ashraf**, the Top Source of the Mossad, wanted to meet Zamir in London in person. At the London meeting, held on the evening of that day, Ashraf gave Zamir concrete warning that the war was going to start according to the Egyptian war plans, which were known to Israeli intelligence. However, Ashraf modified his warning and said that Egyptian president Anwar Sadat was in a mood to wage a war.

After resigning from the Mossad, Zamir was appointed to manage Israel Oil Refineries in 1975 and then was appointed chairman of the board of this company. In 1990 he was made chairman of the board of the Oil and Energy Institute. He served in this position until 2000.

ZE'EVI, AHARON (1948–). Born in Romania and also known also as Farkash, Ze'evi immigrated to Israel in 1962 and was drafted in 1966 into the Israel Air Force as a pilot cadet; eventually he served in the **Air Intelligence Squadron**. Ze'evi held various commands in the Intelligence Corps of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in a lengthy career. He commanded the Central Warning Unit, known as **Unit 8200** (1990–1993). Thereafter he held various general staff appointments, including assistant head of the Planning and Policy Directorate (1993–1996) and deputy head of the Planning and Policy Directorate (1996–1998). In 1998 Ze'evi was appointed head of the Technology and Logistics Directorate with a promotion to major general. He served in this position until 2001, when he was appointed director of **Military Intelligence** (DMI), succeeding Major General **Amos Malka**. He held this position until 2005 and was followed by Major General **Amos Yadlin**.

Ze'evi earned his B.A. in Middle Eastern studies (1976) and his M.A. in the history of the Middle East (1980) from Tel Aviv University. His

master's thesis was on the Egyptian deception on the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. Ze'evi was awarded by the then DMI a medal for creative thinking in the field of early warning. He also studied business administration at Harvard University. Ze'evi speaks Romanian, Hebrew, English, Arabic, and German.

ZEIRA, ELIYAHU (ELI) (1928–). The Israeli-born Zeira served in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) in various command positions, included head of the chief of staff's bureau (1954–1955). During the 1956 **Sinai Campaign**, Zeira served as head of the IDF Operations Branch. Then he set up and headed an IDF mission to Ethiopia. On his return, he was made commander of the Paratroop Brigade; his next position was as head of the Operations Department. In 1963 Zeira joined **Military Intelligence** (MI), where initially he engaged in information collection; after the 1967 **Six-Day War**, he became assistant to the director. In January 1970 Zeira was appointed military attaché at the Israeli embassies in the United States and Canada. After returning to Israel, he was promoted to major general and appointed the director of MI.

Zeira was mistaken in his assessment of Egyptian and Syrian intentions on the eve of the 1973 **Yom Kippur War**. The **Agranat Commission** that investigated the failures that led to the surprise of that war recommended that Zeira be removed from his position in intelligence. Zeira became known as a commander who was reluctant to hear, still less accept, assessments by subordinates that were contrary to his own. He resigned from MI and the IDF in 1974. In the course of his career, Zeira had earned a bachelor's degree in economics and statistics from Hebrew University in Jerusalem; he then took a year's study in the United States, a privilege granted to every senior officer. Zeira rejected all offers to serve in Israel in any position, including the directorship of a large bank. He preferred to stay in the United States, initially as a university professor and then as a consultant to commercial corporations.

ZOREA COMMISSION OF INQUIRY. This commission was created in June 1984 to look into the **Bus 300 Affair**. Its mission was to determine who had killed the two terrorists that had been captured alive when a unit of the Israel Defense Forces stormed a bus that the terrorists had hijacked en route from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon on 12 April

1984. The commission was headed by reserve major general Meir Zorea. Relying on a false statement to the police by senior **Israeli Security Agency** (ISA) officer **Ehud Yatom**, the commission ruled that Yatom had nothing to do with the killing of the terrorists. Two years later Yatom confessed to the police that he had killed the terrorists himself. He admitted that he and three other ISA officers, under orders from the then ISA director **Avraham Shalom**, had taken the terrorists away and beaten them to death in an empty field not far from where they were captured. *See also* NIGHT OF DUCKS.

ZUCKER, RUTH (1915–?). A German-born Jew, Zucker in 1934 immigrated illegally to Palestine and joined the **Information Service**. She took part in risky espionage missions.

ZWAITER, (ABDEL) WAEL. Yasser Arafat's second cousin, Zwaiter was the organizer of the Palestine Liberation Organization's terror activity in Europe. He was listed by the Israeli **Committee X** as a target for assassination in the **Wrath of God Operation** following the **Munich massacre** of the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games, and the Kidon team of the **Mossad** made Zwaiter its first target.

The team traveled separately to Italy and regrouped in Ostia, a few miles from Rome, where they secured sleeping quarters at three different sites. They were equipped with .22 Beretta semiautomatic pistols with custom-designed bullets. On 16 October 1972, a vehicle driven by a support team member and a "shooter" entered the vicinity of Zwaiter's apartment complex. A third team member occupied the passenger seat of a vehicle nearby and was responsible for signaling Zwaiter's approach. A "couple," also members of the support team, strolled into the target area a minute ahead of Zwaiter. Another woman hurried to join the couple as they wandered away from the apartment complex—the final signal that Zwaiter was approaching alone.

The two shooters entered the complex ahead of the target to position themselves in the lobby and familiarize themselves with the interior. Zwaiter stopped for a few minutes at a bar across from the apartment complex to make a phone call before entering the building. This was not surprising, as the surveillance team had learned that the local phone company had disconnected Zwaiter's phone service for lack of payment and that Zwaiter routinely stopped at the bar en route to his

apartment to make phone calls. After completing his call, Zwaiter crossed to the building. As Zwaiter entered the dimly lit lobby, one team member switched on additional lights to positively identify the target. When Zwaiter looked up from something held in his hands, slightly confused at the light, the second shooter asked him if he was Wael Zwaiter. With positive identification established, the two commandos quickly drew their Berettas and shot 14 rounds into Zwaiter. The two left through the main lobby entrance, where two team members were waiting in a vehicle to quickly transport them from the area. Finally, the team member responsible for security arrived on the scene to check for any incriminating evidence accidentally left behind. Upon completion of the mission, the team drove to a predesignated area, transferring to a van and then to a safe house.

Appendix A: Directors of the Israeli Intelligence Organizations

DIRECTORS OF THE MOSSAD

1951–1952	Reuven Shiloah
1952–1963	Isser Harel
1963–1968	Meir Amit
1968–1974	Zvi Zamir
1974–1982	Yitzhak Hofi
1982–1990	Nahum Admoni
1990–1996	Shabtai Shavit
1996–1998	Danny Yatom
1998–2003	Efraim Halevy
2003–	Meir Dagan

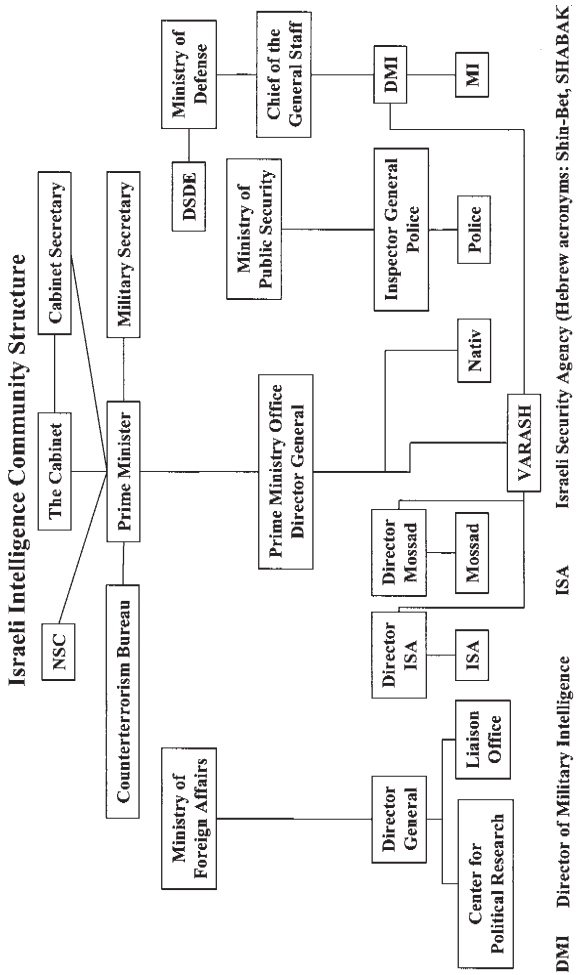
DIRECTORS OF THE ISRAELI SECURITY AGENCY (ISA)

1948–1952	Isser Harel
1952–1953	Izi Doroth
1953–1963	Amos Manor
1964–1974	Yosef Harmelin
1974–1981	Avraham Ahituv
1981–1986	Avraham Shalom
1986–1988	Yosef Harmelin
1988–1994	Yaakov Peri
1994–1996	Carmi Gillon
1996–2000	Ami Ayalon
2000–2005	Avi Dichter
2005–	Yuval Diskin

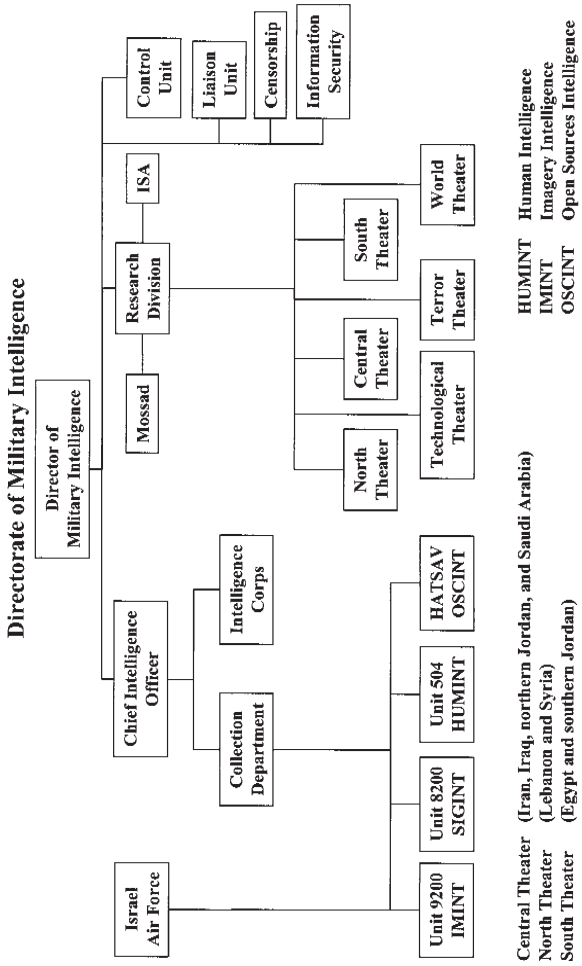
DIRECTORS OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (DMI)

1948–1949	Lieutenant Colonel Isser Be'eri
1949–1950	Colonel Chaim Herzog
1950–1955	Colonel Binyamin Gibli
1955–1959	Major General Yehoshafat Harkabi
1959–1962	Major General Chaim Herzog
1962–1963	Major General Meir Amit
1964–1972	Major General Aharon Yariv
1972–1974	Major General Eliyahu (Eli) Zeira
1974–1978	Major General Shlomo Gazit
1979–1983	Major General Yehoshua Saguy
1983–1985	Major General Ehud Barak
1986–1991	Major General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak
1991–1995	Major General Uri Sagie
1995–1998	Major General Moshe Ya'alon
1998–2001	Major General Amos Malka
2002–2005	Major General Aharon Ze'evi
2006–	Major General Amos Yadlin

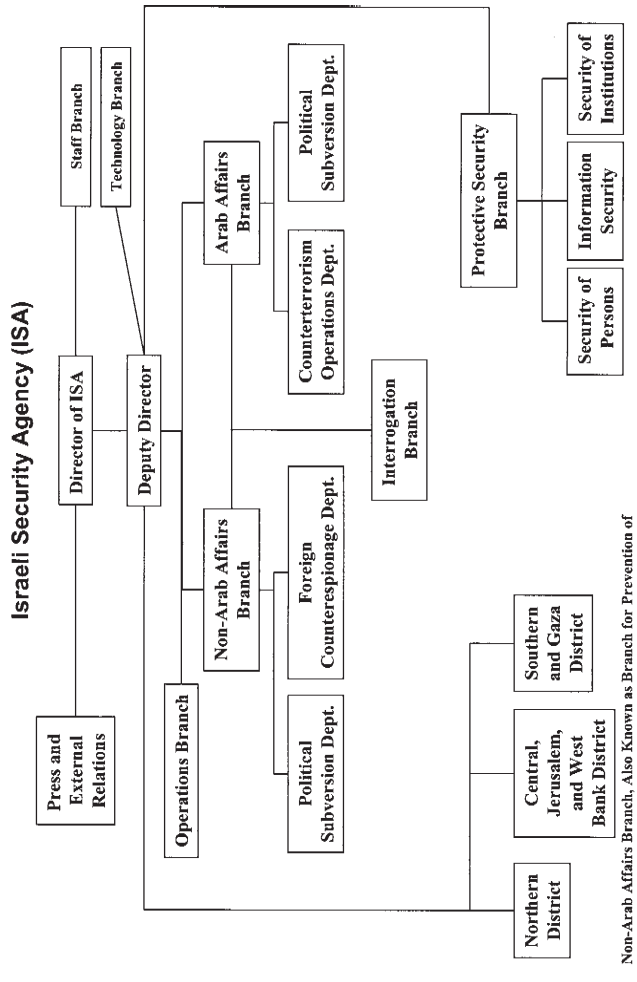
Appendix B: Israeli Intelligence Community Structure



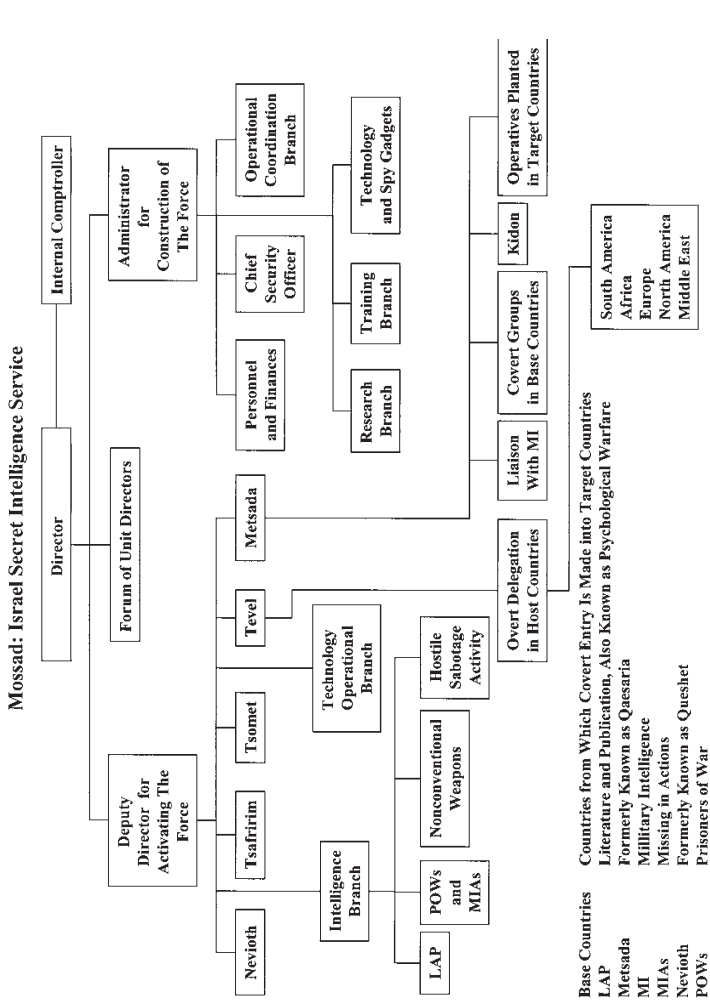
Appendix C:
Directorate of Military Intelligence



Appendix D:
Israeli Security Agency (ISA)



Appendix E:
Mossad: Israel Secret Intelligence Service



Glossary

Bath Levayah The Mossad's Hebrew term for "female assistant agent."

Beit Mivtahim Hebrew term used by the Israeli intelligence community for "safe house."

Bilu An acronym based on a verse from Isaiah (2:5), "*Bet Ya'akov L'chu V'Nelcha*" ("O House of Jacob, come ye and let us go"). Bilu's founders in 1882 in Russia believed that the time had come for Jews not only to live in Eretz Yisrael but to make their living there as well. The members of the group were called *bilu'im*. Their aim was the political-economic, as well as spiritual-national, revival of the Jewish people through settlement in the ancient land.

Eretz Yisrael Hebrew for the "Land of Israel."

Fedayeen (pl.) Arabic for "those who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause." The term is used for several distinct, primarily Arab, groups at different times in history. In modern times, in the context of the Arab-Israel conflict, the fedayeen were Palestinian terrorists trained and equipped by Egyptian intelligence in the 1950s prior to the Sinai Campaign to engage in hostile action on the Israeli border and infiltrate Israel to commit acts of sabotage and murder. Although supported by Egypt, the fedayeen operated mainly from bases in Jordan, so that that country would bear the brunt of Israel's retaliation, which inevitably followed. The terrorist attacks violated the armistice agreement provision that prohibited the initiation of hostilities by paramilitary forces; nevertheless, it was Israel that was condemned by the United Nations Security Council for its counterattacks.

Ha'apala The illegal Jewish immigration to Eretz Yisrael during the British Mandate. The organized Ha'apala began in 1934 and continued until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

Haganah "Defense" in Hebrew. This was the Jewish paramilitary underground militia in Palestine during the British Mandate of Palestine

from 1920 to 1948. The Haganah was the foundation of the modern Israel Defense Forces.

Ha'Shomer "Watchman" in Hebrew. This organization was established in Palestine in 1909 for self-defense purposes by Jewish immigrant settlers in the country. The founders of the Shomer had experienced pogroms in Russia and were determined that in Palestine, or Eretz Yisrael in its ancient Hebrew name, Jews would be more effective in defending themselves. The group was organized in the settlement of Sejera in Lower Galilee and offered its services to other Jewish villages in return for an annual fee. The organization was formally disbanded after the establishment of the Haganah in 1920.

Intifada Arabic for "shaking off," but generally taken to mean "uprising." It came into common usage as the popular name for two recent Palestinian campaigns directed at ending the Israeli military occupation. The First Intifada began in 1987, and the violence began to die down in 1991; it came to a more complete end with the signing of the Oslo accords in 1993 and the creation of the Palestinian Authority. The Al-Aqsa Intifada (also known as the Second Intifada) was the violence launched by the Palestinians beginning in September 2000.

Irgun Abbreviated form of *Irgun Tsvai Leumi*, Hebrew for "National Military Organization"; another name was *Etzel*, the acronym of this full title. The Irgun was a militant Zionist group that operated at the time of the British Mandate in Palestine, from 1931 to 1948. It was classified by British authorities as a terrorist organization. Its political association with Revisionist Zionism rendered it a predecessor movement to modern Israel's right-wing Likud party.

Ma'apilim Hebrew for "The ones who go up." The Ma'apilim were the illegal immigrants to Palestine during the British Mandate.

Mista'aravim (pl.) Hebrew term for members of Israel Defense Force units who operate disguised as Arabs. They dress in traditional Arab clothing and are trained to act and think like Arabs. Their aim is to accomplish covert actions, including arresting Palestinians wanted by Israel for terrorism. During the years of the Intifada, the Mista'aravim units were active especially in the West Bank.

Nativ "Path" in Hebrew. This was the name of an intelligence organization focusing on the Communist bloc countries with the aim of providing clandestine help to the Jews of those countries.

Neturei Karta Aramaic for "Guardians of the City." A group of ultra-orthodox Jews who reject all forms of Zionism and actively oppose the existence of the State of Israel. Other Orthodox Jewish communities, including some who also oppose Zionism, have denounced Neturei Karta's extremist anti-Israel activities.

Sayan (pl. *sayanim*) Hebrew for "local assistant."

Stern Group Also known as *Lehi* (the acronym for the Hebrew *Lohamei Herut Israel*: "Fighters for the Freedom of Israel"). The Stern Group was named for its founder and leader, Yair Stern. It was an underground militia during the British Mandate in Palestine and was considered by the British to be a radical terrorist group whose goal was the eviction of the British from Palestine to allow unrestricted immigration of Jews and the formation of a Jewish state. The British authorities termed the group the "Stern Gang."

Yishuv Hebrew for "settlement." This term was used in the Zionist movement, before the creation of the State of Israel, to refer to the collective body of Jews who lived in the Land of Israel, or Palestine, whether long-standing inhabitants or new settlers. It first came into use in the 1880s, when some 25,000 Jews lived in Palestine, and continued to be used until the rise of Israeli statehood in 1948, by which time there were about 700,000 Jews in the country. Sometimes the "Old Yishuv," meaning Jews living in Palestine under Ottoman rule before 1918, is distinguished from the "New Yishuv," meaning the much larger Jewish settlement of Palestine under the British Mandate after 1922.

Bibliography

CONTENTS

I. Introduction 348
II. Print Resources 349
A. History and General Background 349
B. Human Intelligence (HUMINT) 350
1. Israeli Spies 350
1.1 Eli Cohen 351
1.2 Wolfgang Lotz 351
2. Spying for Israel: Jonathan Jay Pollard 351
3. The Mega Affair 353
4. Israeli Traitors and Foreign Spies in Israel 354
4.1 Mordechai Vanunu 354
C. The Mossad 354
1. The Mossad and Covert Action 355
1.1 The Abu Jihad Assassination 356
1.2 The Damocles Operation 356
1.3 Eichmann's Capture 356
1.4 The Failed Bern Action 356
1.5 The Khaled Mash'al Fiasco 357
1.6 Khrushchev's Speech 357
1.7 The Lillehammer Affair 358
1.8 The Moses Operation 358
1.9 Öcalan's Capture 358
1.10 The Plumbat Operation (Uranium Ship Operation) 358
1.11 The Yossele Schumacher Search (Tiger Operation) 358
1.12 The Fathi Shkaki Assassination 358
1.13 The Solomon Operation 359
1.14 The Wrath of God Operation 359
1.15 The Yehonathan Operation 359
2. The Mossad's Directors and Officials (Biographies and Autobiographies) 359

D. The Israeli Security Agency (ISA) 360
1. The Yitzhak Rabin Assassination 361
2. Covert Action: Assassinating the Engineer 361
E. Military Intelligence (MI) 361
F. Nativ's Directors 361
G. Prestate Underground Militias 362
1. The Arab Platoon 362
2. The Avengers 362
3. Briha (Escape) 362
4. NILI 362
5. Shai 362
H. Intelligence Officials (Biographies) 362
I. Media-Intelligence Relations 362
J. U.S.-Israeli Intelligence Relations 363
K. The Bad Business 363
L. Intelligence Assessment 363
1. Overestimation of Threats 363
2. Intelligence on Lebanon 363
3. The Yom Kippur War's Surprise Attack 363
M. Intelligence Satellites 365
III. Internet Resources 365
A. General Background and News 366
B. Counterterrorism 366
C. Intelligence Organizations 366
D. Operations and Affairs 367
E. Human Intelligence: Spying for Israel 367
F. Traitors and Spies against Israel 368
G. Parliamentary Oversight 368

I. INTRODUCTION

Due to the secret nature of the Israeli intelligence community, there are no official documents on it, so the bibliography consists mostly of secondary sources. The only primary sources, or quasi-primary sources, are autobiographies or biographies of several of the foremost figures in the directorship of the Israeli intelligence. Ya'acov Caroz published his autobiography in Hebrew. There is a good biography on Reuven Shiloah, the first director of the Mossad, in English. Books were also written by those involved in the most daring covert actions. For example, Isser Harel and Zvi Aharoni—a former Mossad director and a former Mossad officer, respectively—published their versions of the capture of Adolf Eichmann.

Most books listed in the bibliography are in English. Only in rare instances when no printed material exists in English are books in other languages included. The second most common language by number of titles listed is Hebrew. Many books have been published in Israel in Hebrew on the subject, and the most important of them are included in the bibliography. Most recently published Hebrew books have official titles in English. Older Hebrew books do not, and I have translated these titles into English myself. Other books listed are in French, German, and Norwegian; the sources in the last-named language concern the Lillehammer Affair, since this Mossad fiasco occurred in Norway.

The bibliography is divided into two main parts. The first consists of printed material: books, journals, master's theses, and position papers. The second part contains Internet sources. Here several official websites are listed—of the Israeli Security Agency, Military Intelligence of the Israel Defense Forces, and the Mossad; only recently have these intelligence bodies gone online. The remaining Internet sites are secondary sources.

II. PRINT RESOURCES

A. History and General Background

Argaman, Josef. *It Was Top Secret*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1990.

Bar-Joseph, Uri. "A Bull in a China Shop: Netanyahu and Israel's Intelligence Community." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 11, no. 2 (1998): 154–174.

———. "State–Intelligence Relations in Israel, 1948–1996." *Journal of Conflict Studies* 17, no. 2 (1997): 133–156.

Black, Ian. "Review Article: The Origins of Israeli Intelligence." *Intelligence and National Security* 2, no. 4 (1987): 151–156.

Black, Ian, and Benny Morris. *Israel's Secret Wars: A History of Israel's Intelligence Services*. New York: Grove Press, 1991.

Blumberg, Stanley A., and Gwinn Owens. *The Survival Factor: Israeli Intelligence from World War I to the Present*. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1981.

Clements, Frank A., comp. *The Israeli Secret Services*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1996.

Deacon, Richard. *The Israeli Secret Service*. London: Sphere Books, 1979.

Doron, Gideon. "Israeli Intelligence: Tactics, Strategy, and Prediction." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 2, no. 3 (1988): 305–319.

Doron, Gideon, and Reuven Pedatzur. "Israeli Intelligence: Utility and Cost-Effectiveness in Policy Formation." *Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 3, no. 3 (1989): 347–361.

Eytan, Steve. *L'Oeil de Tel-Aviv*. Paris: Editions Publications Premiéres, 1970.
Gazit, Shlomo. "Between Warning and Surprise: On Shaping National Intelligence Assessment in Israel." Memorandum no. 66. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, 2003.
———. "Intelligence and the Peace Process in Israel." *Intelligence and National Security* 12, no. 3 (1997): 35–66.
Gelber, Yoav. *Budding a Fleur-de-Lis: Israeli Intelligence in the War of Independence, 1947–1949*. [In Hebrew.] 2 vols. Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2001.
———. *Growing a Fleur-de-Lis: The Intelligence Services of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, 1918–1947*. [In Hebrew.] 2 vols. Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1997.
Harven, Adolph. "Disturbed Hierarchy: Israeli Intelligence in 1954 and 1973." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 30 (1978): 3–19.
Kahana, Ephraim. "Analyzing Israel's Intelligence Failure." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 18, no. 2 (2005): 262–279.
———. "Reorganizing Israel's Intelligence Community." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 15, no. 3 (2002): 415–428.
Katz, Samuel M. *Guards without Frontiers: Israel's War against Terrorism*. London: Arms & Armour, 1990.
McAllister, David H. "Assessing Israeli Intelligence in Action." *Naval Intelligence Professionals Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1997): 1–5.
Melman, Yossi, ed. *The CIA Report on the Israeli Intelligence Community*. Tel Aviv: Zmora Bitan, 1982.
Melman, Yossi, and Dan Raviv. *The Imperfect Spies: The History of the Israeli Intelligence*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1989.
Posner, Steve. *Israel Undercover: Secret Warfare and Hidden Diplomacy in the Middle East*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987.
Raviv, Dan, and Yossi Melman. *Every Spy a Prince: The Complete History of Israel's Intelligence Community*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990.
Richelson, Jeffrey T. *Foreign Intelligence Organizations*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1988.
Steven, Stewart. *The Spymaster of Israel: The Definitive Inside Look of the World's Best Intelligence Service*. New York: Ballantine, 1980.

B. Human Intelligence (HUMINT)

1. Israeli Spies

Horesh, Joshua. *An Iraqi Jew in the Mossad: Memoir of an Israeli Intelligence Officer*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1997.
Maher, Abd al-Hemayd. *How We Surprised the Israelis: Stories of Israeli Spies in Egypt and Egyptian Spies in Israel*. Translated from the Arabic by Smadar Peri. Tel Aviv: Tamuz, 1976.

Rika, Eliahu. *Breakthrough: Adventures of Former Israeli Secret Service in South America.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1991.
Salpeter, Eliyahu. "The Kibbutz Boy Who Became a Spy." *New Leader* 56, no. 8 (1973): 4–6.
Schack, Howard H., with H. Paul Jeffers. *A Spy in Canaan: My Life as a Jewish-American Businessman Spying for Israel in Arab Lands*. New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993.
Strasman, Gavriel. *Back from the Gallows: The Story of the Secret Mission of Yehuda Tajjar.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth, 1992.
Sutton, Rafi, and Yitzhak Shoshan, with Eli Tavor. *Men of Secret, Men of Mystery*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Edanim, 1990.
Tadmor, Joshua. *The Silent Warfare*. Translated from the Hebrew by Raphael Rothstein. Toronto: Macmillan, 1969.
Westerby, Gerald. *In Hostile Territory: Business Secrets of a Mossad Combatant*. New York.: HarperBusiness, 1998.
Zucker, Ruth. *I Spy?* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1997.

1.1 Eli Cohen

Aldouby, Zwi, and Jerrold Ballinger. *The Shattered Silence: The Eli Cohen Affair*. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1971.
Ben Dan. *The Spy from Israel*. London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1969.
Ben-Hanan, Eli. *Our Man in Damascus*. New York: Crown, 1969.
Rouleau, Eric. "The Double Life of Eli Cohen." *Atlas* 10 (1965): 10–12.
Segev, Shmuel. *Alone in Damascus: The Life and Death of Eli Cohen*. [In Hebrew.] Jerusalem: Keter, 1986.

1.2 Wolfgang Lotz

Carmi, Eliezer, and Noami Lotz. *Look Back, Naomi: Spy by Marriage.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Boostan Mod Enterprises, 1978.
Lotz, Wolfgang. *The Champagne Spy: Israel's Master Spy Tells His Story*. London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1972.
——. *Mission to Cairo.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Ma'ariv, 1970.

2. Spying for Israel: Jonathan Jay Pollard

Babington, Charles. "Group Uses First Lady's Candidacy to Seek Spy's Release." *Washington Post*, 1 September 1999.
Beinart, Peter. "The Odd Logic of a Spy's Defenders." *New York Times*, 16 January 1999.

Best, Richard A., and Clyde R. Mark. *Jonathan Pollard: Background and Considerations for Presidential Clemency*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 2001.

Blitzer, Wolf. "Pollard: Not a Bumbler, but Israel's Master Spy." *Washington Post*, 15 February 1987.

———. *Territory of Lies: The Exclusive Story of Jonathan Jay Pollard, the American Who Spied on His Country for Israel and How He Was Betrayed.* New York: Harper & Row, 1989.

Campbell, Kenneth J. "Profiles in Treason: Jonathan Jay Pollard, a Corrupted Ideologue." *American Intelligence Journal* 14, no. 1 (1993): 55–59.

Codevilla, Angelo, Irwin Cotler, Alan Dershowitz, and Kenneth Lasson. "Justice and Jonathan Pollard." *Washington Post*, 2 January 1999.

Duffy, Brian, and David Makovsky. "The Spy Who Is Still Stuck in the Cold." *U.S. News & World Report*, 18 January 1999.

Friedman, Robert I. "Pollard's Prison Letters: A Portrait of a Fanatic." *Washington Post*, 19 June 1988.

Gertz, Bill. "Clinton to Rule on Pollard in January." *Washington Times National Weekly Edition*, 30 November–6 December 1998.

———. "Pollard's Career as a Spy Proved to Be Fruitful for Israelis." *Washington Times National Weekly Edition*, 23–29 November 1998.

Goldenberg, Eliot. *The Hunting Horse: The Truth behind the Jonathan Pollard Spy Case*. Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus, 2000.

———. *The Spy Who Knew Too Much: The Government Plot to Silence Jonathan Pollard.* New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1993.

Goss, Porter J. "Don't Release Pollard." *Washington Times*, 5 January 1999.

Harris, John F. "Barak Emissary Meets Clinton Aide to Lobby for Spy's Pardon, Release." *Washington Post*, 20 December 1999.

Johnston, David. "Pressure Is Again Emerging to Free Jonathan Pollard." *New York Times*, 13 December 2000.

Kessler, Ronald. *Spy vs. Spy: Stalking Soviet Spies in America.* New York: Scribner's, 1988.

Kuttler, Hillel. "Government Visits to Pollard Put on Hold." *Jerusalem Post*, 19 January 1999.

Kurtz, Howard. "Israel's Least Favored Spy." *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 13–19 May 1991.

Perl, Peter. "The Spy Who's Been Left In the Cold." *Washington Post Magazine*, 5 July 1998.

Pincus, Walter. "Albright Finds No Major Foreign Policy Gain in Offering Clemency to Pollard." *Washington Post*, 12 January 1999.

———. "Convicted Spy Becomes Bargaining Chip." *Washington Post*, 24 October 1998.

——. "No Decision Near on Altering Pollard's Sentence, White House Says." *Washington Post*, 10 January 1999.

——. "White House Canvassing on Release of Pollard." *Washington Post*, 3 December 1998.

Pincus, Walter, and Barton Gellman. "Tenet Said He Might Quit Over Pollard Release." *Washington Post*, 11 November 1998.

Pollard, Carol. "A Plea That Was No Bargain for a Crime of Conscience." *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 4–10 March 1991.

"Pollard Presses Court to Seek His Release." *Washington Times*, 8 September 1999.

"Prosecutors Emphasize Damage Caused by Pollard." *Washington Times*, 19 February 1987.

Risen, James. "Keep Pollard Locked Up, Clinton Aides Recommend." *New York Times*, 12 January 1999.

Scarborough, Rowan. "Pollard Betrayed Crown Jewels of American Spy Data." *Washington Times National Weekly Edition*, 2–8 November 1998.

Shenon, Philip. "Navy Employee Arrested as Spy." *New York Times*, 22 November 1985.

Shipler, David K. "A Resignation Eases but Doesn't End Strains over the Pollard Spy Episode." *New York Times*, 31 March 1987.

Sieff, Martin. "Pollard Demand Put Clinton in Fix." *Washington Times National Weekly Edition*, 2–8 November 1998.

Studeman, W. O., Sumner Shapiro, J. L. Butts, and T. A. Brooks. "Release Pollard at the Nation's Peril." *Washington Post*, 12 December 1998.

Thompson, Mark. "America's Traitor, Israel's Patriot." *Time*, 2 November 1998.

Tirschwell, Eric. "Victim or Villain? Considering the 'Pollard Affair.'" *Congress Monthly* 56, no. 5 (1989): 17–18.

Valcourt, Richard R. "Misplaced Loyalties: The Pollards and 'Friends.'" *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 3, no. 3 (1990): 425–431.

Weiner, Tim. "U.S. Now Tells of Much Deeper Damage by Pollard Than Thought." *New York Times*, 11 January 1999.

3. The Mega Affair

Boustany, Nora, and Brian Duffy. "Israel's Secret American Friend: The FBI Is Looking into Whether a High-Ranking U.S. Official Passed Along Sensitive Information." *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 12 May 1997.

Gellman, Barton. "Senior Israeli Officials Strongly Deny Reports of 'Mole' in U.S. Government." *Washington Post*, 8 May 1997.

4. Israeli Traitors and Foreign Spies in Israel

Avni, Ze'ev. *False Flag: The Soviet Spy Who Penetrated the Israeli Secret Intelligence Service*. London: St. Ermin's Press, 1999.

——. *The Pygmalion Affair: The Story of a Soviet Spy in the Foreign Ministry of Israel*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Edanim, 1993.

Bar-Zohar, Michael. *J'ai Risqué Ma Vie.* Paris: Arthème, 1971.

——. *Spies in the Promised Land: Iser Harel and the Israeli Secret Service*. Translated from the French by Monroe Stearns. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972.

Harel, Isser. *Soviet Espionage: Communism in Israel.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Edanim, 1987.

4.1 Mordechai Vanunu

Cohen, Yoel. *Nuclear Ambiguity: Vanunu Affair*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1992.

——. *The Whistleblower of Dimona: Israel, Vanunu, and the Bomb*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 2003.

Enav, Peter. "Israeli Nuclear Whistleblower Freed after 18-Year Prison Term." Associated Press, 21 April 2004.

Gaffney, Mark. *Dimona—The Third Temple: The Story behind the Vanunu Revelation*. Beltsville, Md.: Amana, 1989.

Gilling, Tom, and John McKnight. *Trial and Error: Mordechai Vanunu and Israel's Nuclear Bomb*. Rev. ed. London: HarperCollins, 1995.

Hounam, Peter. *The Woman from Mossad: The Story of Mordechai Vanunu and the Israeli Nuclear Program*. Berkeley, Calif.: Frog, 1999.

——. *The Woman from Mossad: The Torment of Mordechai Vanunu*. London: Vision Paperbacks, 1999.

Levit, Yeshayahu. *The War of the Shadows: Arab Spying in Israel*. Tel Aviv: Moked, 1969.

Melman, Yossi, and Eitan Haber. *The Spies: Israel's Counterespionage Wars*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Miskal, 2002.

Moss, Norman. "Vanunu, Israel's Bombs, and U.S. Aid." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 44, no. 4 (1988): 7–8.

Toscano, Louis. *Triple Cross: Israel, the Atomic Bomb and the Man Who Spilled the Secrets*. New York: Birch Lane Press, 1990.

C. The Mossad

Brentjes, Burchard. *Geheimoperation Nahost: Zur Vorgeschichte der Zusammenarbeit von Mossad und BND*. Berlin: Edition Ost im Verlag Das Neue Berlin, 2001.

Eisenberg, Dennis, Uri Dan, and Eli Landau. *The Mossad Inside Stories: Israel's Secret Intelligence Service*. New York: Paddington Press, 1978.

Hatonn, Gyerogos C. *The Mossad Connection*. Carson City, Nev.: America West Publishers, 1990.

"Israel's Missile Defence Shield is Strengthened: New Mossad Chief Faces Latest Challenge." *Jane's Defence Weekly* 29, no. 10 (1998): 18–24.

Jalalzai, Musá Khan. *India-Israel Conspiracy against Pakistan: RAW-MOSSAD Joint Options*. Lahore, Pakistan: Institute of International Current Affairs, 1992.

"Mossad in Crisis." *Middle East* 277 (1998): 14–16.

Musci, Aldo, and Marco Minicangeli. *Breve Storia del Mossad*. Rome: Datanews, 2001.

Ostrovsky, Victor. "Israel's 'False Information Affair' Sheds New Light On Troubled Israeli and U.S. Relations With Syria." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, January–February 1998.

———. *The Other Side of Deception: A Rogue Agent Exposes the Mossad's Secret Agenda.* New York: HarperCollins, 1994.

Ostrovsky, Victor, and Clair Hoy. *By Way of Deception: The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

Payne, Ronald. *Mossad: Israel's Most Secret Service.* London: Bantam Press, 1990.

Shimron, Gad. *The Mossad and the Myth.* [In Hebrew.] 2nd ed. Tel Aviv: Keter, 2002.

Thomas, Gordon. *Gideon Spies: The Secret History of the Mossad.* Updated ed. London: New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005.

Webster, Matt. *Inside Israel's Mossad: The Institute for Intelligence and Special Tasks*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2003.

1. The Mossad and Covert Action

Adams, James. *The Unnatural Alliance*. London: Quartet Books, 1984.

Bainerman, Yoel. *Inside the Covert Operations of the CIA and Israel's Mossad.* New York: S.P.I. Books, 1994.

"The Case of the Oil-Smeared Torso: South African Police Investigating Links of Mossad to Several Suspicious Deaths in South Africa." *Economist* 332 (23 July 1994): 38.

Dagoni, Ron. "Ministers in Tunisia Activated in Mossad's Service." [In Hebrew.] *Ma'ariv* (8 November 1988): 1.

Doron, Gideon, and Boaz Shapira. "Accountability for Secret Operations in Israel." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 4, no. 3 (1990): 371–382.

McRaven, William H. *Special Operations—Case Studies in Special Operations Warfare: Theory and Practice*. Novato, Calif.: Presidio, 1995.

Rabinovich, Abraham. *The Boats of Cherbourg: The Secret Israeli Operation That Revolutionized Naval Warfare*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997.

Soyinka, Kayode. *Diplomatic Baggage: Mossad and Nigeria, the Dikko Story*. Lagos, Nigeria: Newswatch Books, 1994.

1.1 The Abu Jihad Assassination

"A Message from Mossad: Abu Jihad [Al-Wazir, Khalil]." *Economist* 307 (23 April 1988): 42–43.

1.2 The Damocles Operation

Harel, Isser. *The Crisis of the German Scientists, 1962–1963*. Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Ma'ariv, 1982.

1.3 Eichmann's Capture

Aharoni, Zvi, and Dietl Wilhelm. *Operation Eichmann: The Truth about the Pursuit, Capture and Trial*. Indianapolis, Ind.: Wiley, 1997.

Harel, Isser. *The House on Garibaldi Street*. 2nd ed. London: Frank Cass, 1997.

Malkin, Peter Z., and Harry Stein. *Eichmann in My Hands: A Compelling First-Person Account by the Israeli Agent Who Captured Hitler's Chief Executioner*. New York: Warner Books, 1990.

Pearlman, Moshe. *The Capture of Adolf Eichmann*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961.

1.4 The Failed Bern Action

Drozdiak, William. "Swiss Accuse Israeli Agents of Espionage." *Washington Post*, 27 February 1998.

Hockstader, Lee. "Swiss Said to Hold Israeli Agent on Spying Charges." *Washington Post*, 26 February 1998.

Machlis, Avi. "Media Dispel Myths around Israel's Not-So-Secret Service." *Financial Times*, 26 February 1998.

Rabinovich, Abraham. "Mossad Fiasco Tars Once-Vaunted Unit's Image as Competent." *Washingon Times*, 27 February 1997.

Schmemann, Serge. "Reports Suggest Another Misstep by Israeli Spy Agency." *New York Times*, 26 February 1998.

——. "Swiss Confirm New Fiasco by Agents for Israel." *New York Times*, 27 February 1998.

1.5 The Khaled Mash'al Fiasco

"The Bungle in Jordan: Mossad Trips Up during an Attempted Hit on a Hamas Leader." *Time*, 13 October 1997.

Commission Concerning the Events in Jordan September 1997. *Report of the Commission Concerning the Events in Jordan September 1997: Summary for Publication*. Jerusalem: Government Press Office, 17 February 1998.

Cowell, Alan. "The Daring Attack That Blew Up in Israel's Face." *New York Times*, 15 October 1997.

Dan, Uri. "Cloak and Dagger Hit Man." *New York Post*, 25 June 2000.

Gellman, Barton. "The Fallout from a Botched Assassination Try." *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, 13 October 1997.

Kutty, Faisal. "Canadian Press Calls for Inquiry into Allegations Regarding Mossad Use of Passports." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, January–February 1998.

Machlis, Avi. "Mossad Chief Quits in Wake of Blunders." *Financial Times*, 25 February 1998.

"Netanyahu's Latest Blunder: The Attempted Assassination of Hamas Leader, Khaled Meshal, in Jordan." *Economist* 345 (11 October 1997): 49.

Ostrovsky, Victor. "Poison Used in Failed Amman Assassination Attempt Could Shed Light on Mysterious Death of Robert Maxwell." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, April 1998.

Shahak, Israel. "The Real Significance of the Attempted Israeli Assassination of Khaled Meshal in Jordan." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, January–February 1998.

Schmemann, Serge. "Jordan Fiasco: No Blame Falls on Netanyahu." *New York Times*, 17 February 1998.

——. "Mossad Chief Quits but Defends His Role in Jordan Fiasco." *New York Times*, 25 February 1998.

1.6 Khrushchev's Speech

Melman, Yossi, and Dan Raviv. "The Journalist's Connections: How Israel Got Russia's Biggest Pre-Glasnost Secret." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 4, no. 2 (1990): 219–225.

1.7 The Lillehammer Affair

Bar-Zohar, Michael, and Eitan Haber. *The Quest for the Red Prince: Israel's Relentless Manhunt for One of the World's Deadliest and Most Wanted Arab Terrorists*. Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2002.

Dietl, Wilhelm. *Die Agentin des Mossad: Operation Roter Prinz*. Düsseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1992.

Elvik, Halvor, and Mentz Amundsen. *Da "Mossad" Kom til Norge*. [In Norwegian.] Oslo: Gyldendal, 1974.

Heradstveit, Per Øyvind. *De Medskyldige: Israelsk Eetterretning Og Mordet på Lillehammer*. [In Norwegian.] Oslo: Aschehoug, 1974.

1.8 The Moses Operation

Parfit, Tudor. *Operation Moses: The Untold Story of the Secret Exodus of the Falasha Jews from Ethiopia*. New York: Stein & Day, 1986.

Safran, Claire. *Secret Exodus: The Story of Operation Moses*. New York: Prentice Hall, 1987.

1.9 Öcalan's Capture

Ostrovsky, Victor. "Capture of Kurdish Rebel Leader Öcalan Recalls Mossad Collaboration with Both Turkey, Kurds." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, April–May 1999.

1.10 The Plumbat Operation (Uranium Ship Operation)

Davenport, Elaine, Paul Eddy, and Peter Gillman. *The Plumbat Affair.* London: A. Deutsch, 1978.

Eisenberg, Dennis, Eli Landau, and Menachem Portugali. *Operation Uranium Ship*. London: Corgi, 1978.

1.11 The Yossele Schumacher Search (Tiger Operation)

Harel, Isser. *Operation Yossele*. [In Hebrew.] Jerusalem: Edanim, 1982.

1.12 The Fathi Shkaki Assassination

Livingstone, Neil C., and David Halevy. "Only Hits Count: The Long Arm of the Mossad Reaches to Malta in this Anatomy of an Assassination." *Soldier of Fortune* 22, no. 8 (1997): 34.

1.13 The Solomon Operation

Crow, Melissa. *Operation Solomon: A Case Study on the Role of Power Politics in International Negotiation*. Working Paper Series 92-10. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Law School, Program on Negotiation, 1992.

Shimron, Gad. *"Bring Me the Jews of Ethiopia": The True Story—How the Mossad Brought the Jews of Ethiopia to Israel from Sudan*. Or Yehudah: Hed Artsi, 1998.

Spector, Stephen. *Operation Solomon: The Daring Rescue of the Ethiopian Jews*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

1.14 The Wrath of God Operation

Calahan, Alexander B. "Countering Terrorism: The Israeli Response to the 1972 Munich Olympic Massacre and the Development of Independent Covert Action Teams." Master's thesis, Marine Corps Command and Staff College, 1995.

Jonas, George. *Vengeance: The True Story of an Israeli Counter-Terrorist Team*. London: Simon & Schuster, 1984.

Reeve, Simon. *One Day in September: The Full Story of the 1972 Munich Olympics Massacre and the Israeli Revenge Operation "Wrath of God."* New York: Arcade, 2001.

Tinnin, David B., with Dag Christensen. *The Hit Team*. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1976.

1.15 The Yehonathan Operation

Ben-Porat, Yeshayahu, Eitan Haber, and Zeev Schiff. *Entebbe Rescue*. Translated from the Hebrew by Louis Williams. New York: Delacorte, 1977.

Stevenson, William. *Ninety Minutes at Entebbe*. New York: Bantam, 1976.

2. The Mossad's Directors and Officials (Biographies and Autobiographies)

Amit, Meir. *A Life in Israel's Intelligence Service: An Autobiography*. London: Valentine Mitchell, 1995.

Bar-Zohar, Michael. *Iser Harel and Israel's Security Services.* [In Hebrew.] Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.

Caroz, Ya'acov. *The Man with Two Hats*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2002.

Eshed, Haggai. *Reuven Shiloah: The Man behind the Mossad; Secret Diplomacy in the Creation of Israel*. London: Frank Cass, 1997.

Halevy, Efraim. *Man in the Shadows: Inside the Middle East Crisis with the Man Who Led the Mossad*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006.

Nebo, Amos. "Isser the Big." [In Hebrew.] *Yedioth Ahronoth 7 Days Weekend Supplement*, 7 April 1988.

D. The Israeli Security Agency (ISA)

Barthlet, Jeffrey, and Tom Masland. "Spooking the Spooks: Inside a Besieged, Once Proud Security Agency." *Newsweek*, 18 March 1996.

Curtis, Richard H. "The Path Toward Peace? Four Shin Bet Counterintelligence Leaders Revile Sharon." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, (January–February 2004, no. 1): 16–17.

Gillon, Carmi. *The Shin Bet Rent Asunder.* [In Hebrew.] Edited by Rami Tal. Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth, 2000.

Gutman, Yechiel. *Storm in the GSS: State Attorney versus Government from the Tobianski Affair to the Bus 300 Affair.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth, 1995.

Indinopulos, Thomas. "Shin Bet's Blind Side." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 10, no. 1 (1997): 91–96.

Meehan, Maureen. "Legality of Torture in Israel Debated but Not Decided." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, July–August 1998, 11–13.

"New Ghosts: Shin Bet's Secret Deal with Moslem Morocco." *Newsweek*, 6 March 1967.

Ostrovsky, Victor. "Commission Report Leaks Make Strong Case for Complicity of Shabak Officers in Rabin Assassination." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs,* January–February 1998.

——. "Law Suit by Two Shabak Interrogators Reveals Much about Treatment of Their Victims." *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, September 1999.

Peri, Yaakov. *Strike First.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Keshet, 1999.

Rachum, Ilan. *The Israeli General Security Service Affair.* [In Hebrew.] Jerusalem: Carmel, 1990.

Ronen, David. *The Year of the Shin Bet: Deployment in Judea and Samaria, First Year.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1989.

Shaked, Ronni, and Shlomo Harary. *Shin Bet in Pursuit of Capucci*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth, 1995.

Tait, Robert. "Close Encounter With Shin Bet: Robert Tait Was Merely a Reporter Trying to Leave the Gaza Strip. Then He Fell Foul of Israel's Security Service." *New Statesman* 133 no. 4689 (1996): 32.

Tsimerman, Ari'el. *Draft ISA Law: Comparative Analysis; Main Comments on the Draft Law in Light of Comparative Law*. [In Hebrew.] Israel Institute for

Democracy Position Paper 3. Mordekhai Kremnitser, moderator. Jerusalem: Israel Institute for Democracy, 1997.

1. The Yitzhak Rabin Assassination

Amon, Moshe. "Cultural Clues: The Nature of Intelligence after Rabin's Assassination." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 9, no. 1 (1996): 1–15.

Katz, Samuel M. "Israel's Covert Crisis: Was it Hubris That Killed Yitzhak Rabin? Three Years after His Assassination, the Vaunted Mossad, the Shin Bet, and Military Intelligence Are Reeling from Continuing Intelligence Failures." *Moment* 23, no. 5 (1998): 54.

Rotem, Avraham. *The Truth, Friend.* [In Hebrew.] Ramat Ha'Sharon: Hotsa'at Bar/Keren, 1999.

2. Covert Action: Assassinating the Engineer

Katz, Samuel M. *The Hunt for the Engineer: The Inside Story of How Israel's Counterterrorist Forces Tracked and Killed the Hamas Master Bomber*. Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 2002.

E. Military Intelligence (MI)

Granot, Oded. "The Intelligence Corps." In *The IDF and Its Corps: Encyclopedia of Army and Defense*. Tel Aviv: Revivim, 1981.

Haber, Eitan. "What Is and What Is Not Intelligence Information?" *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 15 February 1991, 1.

Katz, Samuel M. *Soldier Spies: Israeli Military Intelligence*. Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1992.

Ringel-Hoffman, Arielah. "Was There an Intelligence Foul-up Here?" *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 21 February 1991, 1.

Sagie, Uri. *Lights within the Fog*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Miskal, 1998.

Teveth, Shabtai. *Ben-Gurion's Spy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

F. Nativ's Directors

Ettinger, Amos. *Blind Jump: The Story of Yeshayahu (Shaike) Dan*. New York: Cornwall Books, 1992.

Levanon, Nechemiah. *The "Nativ" Code*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1995.

G. Prestate Underground Militias

1. The Arab Platoon

Cohen, Yeruham. "The Arab Impersonators: The Arab Section of the Palmah." *Ma'arakhot* 297 (January 1985): 44–45.
——. *By Light and in Darkness*. Tel Aviv: Amikam Publishers, 1969.
Dror, Zvi. *The Arab Impersonators of the Palmah*. Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1986.

2. The Avengers

Bar-Zohar, Michael. *The Avengers.* New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967.

3. Briha (Escape)

Szulc, Tad. *The Secret Alliance: The Extraordinary Story of the Rescue of the Jews since World War II*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1991.

4. NILI

Halkin, Hillel. *A Strange Death: A Story Originating in Espionage, Betrayal, and Vengeance in a Village in Old Palestine*. New York: Public Affairs, 2005.

5. Shai

Danin, Ezra. "Establishing the Shai." *Ma'arachot* 294–295 (1984): 32–35.
Dekel, Ephraim. *Shai: The Exploits of Hagana Intelligence.* New York: Yoseloff, 1959.
Lefen, Asa. *The Roots of the Israeli Intelligence Community*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense. 1997.

H. Intelligence Officials (Biographies)

Ben-Natan, Asher. *Memoirs*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2002.

I. Media-Intelligence Relations

Goren, Dina. *Secrecy, Security and the Freedom of the Press*. [In Hebrew.] Jerusalem: Magnes/Hebrew University Press, 1976.
Harel, Isser. *Security and Democracy*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Edanim, 1989.

J. U.S.-Israeli Intelligence Relations

Cockburn, Andrew, and Leslie Cockburn. *Dangerous Liaison: The Inside Story of the U.S.-Israeli Covert Relationship*. New York: HarperCollins, 1991.

K. The Bad Business

Bar-Joseph, Uri. *Intelligence Intervention in the Politics of Democratic States: The United States, Israel, and Britain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 1995.

Dassa, Robert. *Back to Cairo.* [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1992.

El-Ad, Avri, with James Creech III. *Decline of Honor*. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1976.

Golan, Aviezer. *Operation Susannah*. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.

Harel, Isser. *Anatomy of Treason: The "Third Man" and the Collapse of the Israeli Spy Netwrork in Egypt, 1954.* [In Hebrew.] Jerusalem: Edanim, 1980.

Hareven, Adolph. "Disturbed Hierarchy: Israeli Intelligence in 1954 and 1973." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 30 (1978): 3–19.

L. Intelligence Assessment

1. Overestimation of Threats

Brom, Shlomo. "The War in Iraq: An Intelligence Failure?" *Strategic Assessment* 6, no. 3 (2003): 8–16.

Kam, Ephraim. "Israeli Intelligence on Iraq: Sound Professional Assessment." *Strategic Assessment* 6, no. 3 (2003): 20–27.

2. Intelligence on Lebanon

Jones, Clive. "'A Reach Greater than the Grasp': Israeli Intelligence and the Conflict in South Lebanon, 1990–2000." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, no. 3 (2001): 1–26.

3. The Yom Kippur War's Surprise Attack

Asher, Dan. *Breaking the Concept*. Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 2003.

Bar-Joseph, Uri. *The Watchman Fell Asleep: The Surprise of Yom Kippur and Its Sources.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Ben-Israel, Isaac. "Philosophy and Methodology of Intelligence: The Logic of Estimate Process." *Intelligence and National Security* 4, no. 4 (1989): 660–718.

Ben-Porat, Yoel. *Neila: Locked on—The Story of the Yom Kippur Surprise*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Edanim, 1991.

———. "The Yom Kippur War: A Mistake in May Leads to a Surprise in October." *IDF Journal* 3, no. 21 (1986): 52.

Ben-Zvi, Abraham. "Between Warning and Response: The Case of the Yom Kippur War." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 4, no. 2 (1990): 227–242.

Chorev, Moni. *Surprise Attack: The Case of the Yom-Kippur War*. Washington, D.C.: Industrial College of the Armed Forces, National Defense University, 1996.

Gazit, Shlomo. *Intelligence Assessment and the Decisionmaker in the Aftermath of the Yom Kippur War*. [In Hebrew.] Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies Memorandum no. 38, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel, 1992.

Haber, Eitan, and Zeev Schiff. *Yom Kippur War Lexicon*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Zmora-Bitan-Dvir, 2003.

Handel, Michael I. *Perception, Deception and Surprise: The Case of the Yom Kippur War*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1975.

Hawley, Edmund S., and Bruce Reidel. *Intelligence Failures in the October War*. Providence, R.I.: Brown University, 1976.

Heikal, Mohammed. *The Road to Ramadan*. New York: Quadrangle, 1975.

Herzog, Chaim. *The War of Atonement, October 1973*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975.

Kahana, Ephraim. "Early Warning versus Concept: The Case of the Yom Kippur War 1973." *Intelligence and National Security* 17, no. 2 (2002): 81–104.

Kam, Ephraim. *Surprise Attack: The Victim's Perspective*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Kaveh, Amnon. "Yehuda, I Have No Intelligence." *El-Hamatara*, no. 17 (1990): 6.

Lanir, Zvi. *Fundamental Surprise: The National Intelligence Crisis*. [In Hebrew.] Tel Aviv: Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1983.

O'Ballance, Edgar. *No Victor, No Vanquished: The Yom Kippur War*. New York: Presidio Press, 1978.

Rabinovich, Abraham. *The Yom Kippur War: The Epic Encounter That Transformed the Middle East*. New York: Schocken, 2004.

Rip, Michael Russell. "Military Photo-Reconnaissance during the Yom Kippur War: A Research Note." *Intelligence and National Security* 7, no. 2 (1992): 126–132.

Rip, Michael Russell, and Joseph F. Fontanella. "A Window on the Arab-Israeli 'Yom Kippur' War of October 1973: Military Photo-Reconnaissance from High Altitude and Space." *Intelligence and National Security* 6, no. 1 (1991): 15–89.

Shlaim, Avi. "Failures in National Estimates: The Case of the Yom Kippur War." *World Politics* 28, no. 3 (1976): 348–380.

Stein, Janice Gross. "'Intelligence' and 'Stupidity' Reconsidered: Estimation and Decision in Israel, 1973." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 3 no. 2 (1980): 147–177.

Zeira, Eli. "Israel's Intelligence Failure of 1973: New Evidence, a New Interpretation, and Theoretical Implications." *Security Studies* 4, no. 3 (1995): 584–609.

——— . *Myth versus Reality: The October 1973 War: Failures and Lessons*. [In Hebrew.] 2nd ed. Edited by Rami Tal. Tel Aviv: Miskal, 2004.

M. Intelligence Satellites

Brinkley, Joel. "Israel Puts a Satellite in Orbit a Day After Threat by Iraqis." *New York Times*, 4 April 1990.

Broad, William J. "Non-Superpowers are Developing Their Own Spy Satellites Systems: Program May Rewrite the Diplomatic Equation." *New York Times*, 3 September 1989.

Frankel, Glenn. "Israel Puts Its First Satellite into Orbit." *Washington Post*, 20 September 1988.

Haberman, Clyde. "Israel, Unhappy with U.S., Orbits Its Own Spy Satellite." *New York Times*, 6 April 1995.

Kifner, John. "Israel Launches Space Program and a Satellite." *New York Times*, 20 September 1988.

Levite, Ariel, and Emily Landau. "The Launching of the 'Ofek I' Satellite and Its Ramifications: Survey of Overt Reactions and Assessment of Significance for the Future of the Program." [In Hebrew.] Memorandum no. 26. Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, 2003.

Roeder, Bill. "A U.S. Spy Satellite for Israel?" *Newsweek*, 7 September 1981.

Shapir, Yiftah. "Satellite Technology in the Middle East." *Strategic Assessment* 7, no. 1 (2004): 22–29.

Tamayo, Juan O. "Israel Launches Satellite with Military Potential." *Miami Herald*, 20 September 1988.

Zorn, E. L. "Israel's Quest for Satellite Intelligence." *Studies in Intelligence* 10 (Winter–Spring 2001): 33–38.

III. INTERNET RESOURCES

Note: All links listed below were active as of 10 September 2005.

A. General Background and News

Israel Intelligence National Security:
www.israel-intelligence-national-security.org
Center for the Intelligence Legacy:
www.intelligence.org.il/department/department.htm

B. Counterterrorism

www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Terrorism/hits.html

C. Intelligence Organizations

General:
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Terrorism/secret.html
Bureau of Scientific Liaison/Lishka Le'Kishrei Mada (LAKAM):
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/lekem/index.html
Center for Political Research (Ministry of Foreign Affairs):
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/mfa/index.html
Israeli Security Agency (ISA):
www.shabak.gov.il/mod/ (official website, in Hebrew)
www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1791564.stm
www.answers.com/topic/shin-bet
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/shin_bet/index.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/shin1.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Politics/GeneralSecurityServicesLaw.pdf
www.jafi.org.il/education/actual/gss.html
Military Intelligence (MI):
www1.idf.il/aman/site/default.asp (official website, in Hebrew)
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/aman/index.html
www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/pages/ShArtWin.jhtml?itemNo=417202 (Hebrew).
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/anan1.html
Mossad:
www.mossad.gov.il/Mohr (official website, in Hebrew)
www.mossad.gov.il/Mohr/MohrTopNav/MohrEnglish/MohrAboutUs/
(in English)
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/mossad/index.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/mossad.html
www.rotten.com/library/history/espionage/mossad/
www.desert-voice.net/mosad.htm
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/mossad3.html

www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/mossad1.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Terrorism/mossadwarn.html

D. Operations and Affairs

Bad Business:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week2.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/lavon.html
Early Operations:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week1.html
Eichmann's Capture:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week6.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Holocaust/eichcap.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/Cherbourg.html
Failed Bern Action:
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/mossad2.html
Khaled Mash'al Fiasco:
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/mashal.html
Noah Ark's Operation:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week9.html
Rooster Operation:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week8.html
Six-Day War:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week7.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/intel67.html
Spring of Youth Operation:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week10.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/opspring.html
Stealing the MiG-21:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week3.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/migtheft.html
Yom Kippur War:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week11.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/intel73.html

E. Human Intelligence: Spying for Israel

Eli Cohen:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week12.html
Wolfgang Lotz:

www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week4.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/Lotz.html
Jonathan Jay Pollard:
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/pollard.html

F. Traitors and Spies against Israel

General:
www.bambili.com/asp_new/rigul-article.asp?my_lang=1
Yisrael Baer:
www.jafi.org.il/education/juice/service/week5.html
www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/Beer.html
Nahum Manbar
www.washington-report.org/backissues/0998/9809055.html

G. Parliamentary Oversight

www.knesset.gov.il/committees/eng/committee_eng.asp?c_id=4 (official website)
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/ha122804.html
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/ciechanover.htm
www.fas.org/irp/world/israel/iraq_intel.pdf

About the Author

Ephraim Kahana holds a Ph.D. in international politics. He is professor of international relations and faculty member at Western Galilee College, Acre, Israel, where he chaired the Department of Political Science from 1997 to 1998. He also teaches international relations, national security, and intelligence studies in the National Security Program of the University of Haifa and the Technion–Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, where he was named outstanding lecturer. Dr. Kahana is a member of the executive committee of the Israeli International Studies Association (IISA). He regularly presents papers at conferences of the IISA in panels on intelligence studies. In 2004 Dr. Kahana was academic director for a conference entitled "The War in Iraq and the New International Order," held on 29 November at Western Galilee College.

Dr. Kahana has published numerous papers on intelligence and national security issues. His most recent publications are "Early Warning versus Concept: The Case of the Yom Kippur War 1973," *Intelligence and National Security* (Summer 2002); "Reorganizing Israel's Intelligence Community," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* (Fall 2002); and "Analyzing Israeli Intelligence Failures," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* (Summer 2005). Dr. Kahana received his early and secondary education in Haifa. He obtained his B.A. degree from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and his Ph.D. from the University of South Africa, Pretoria.